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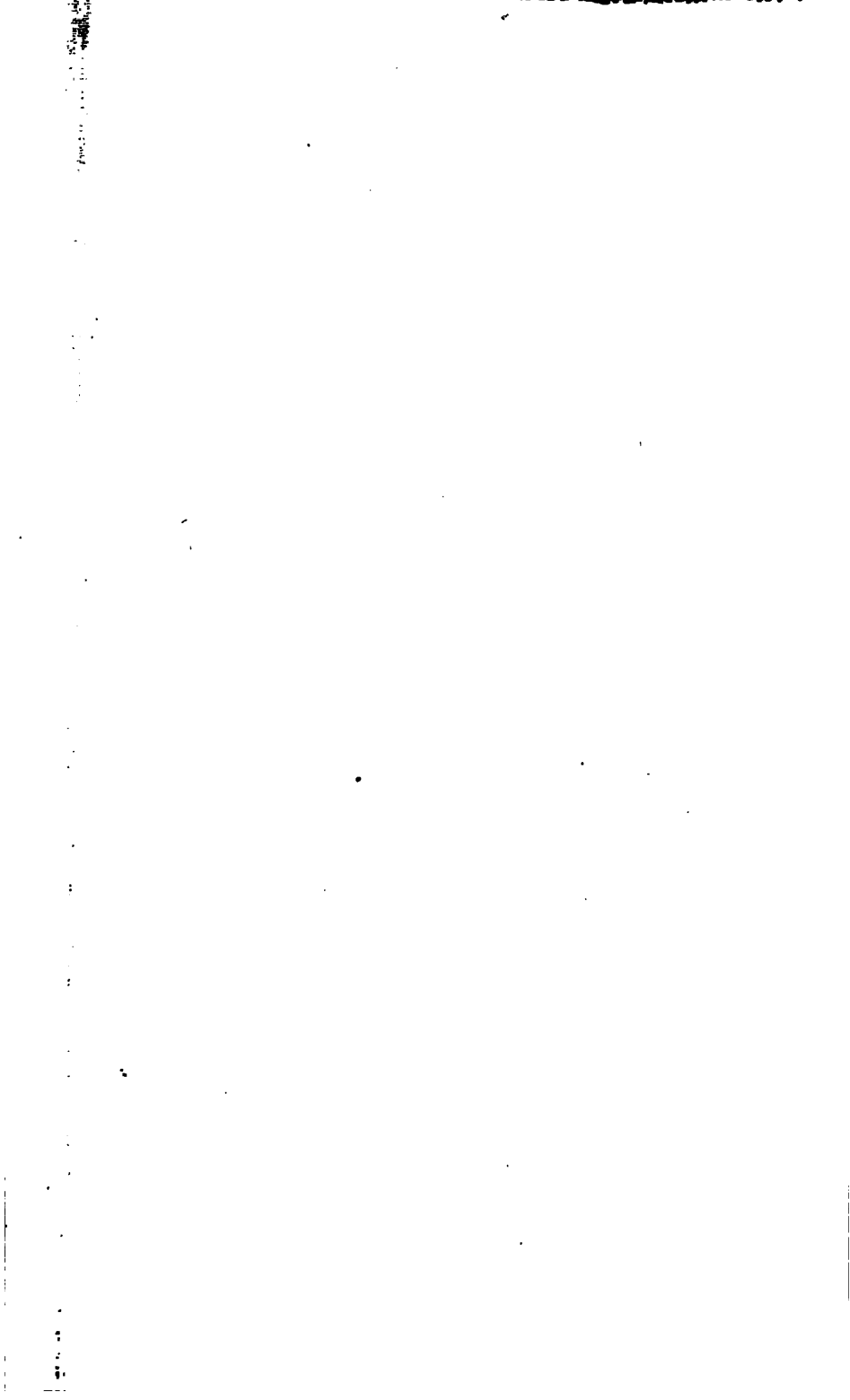
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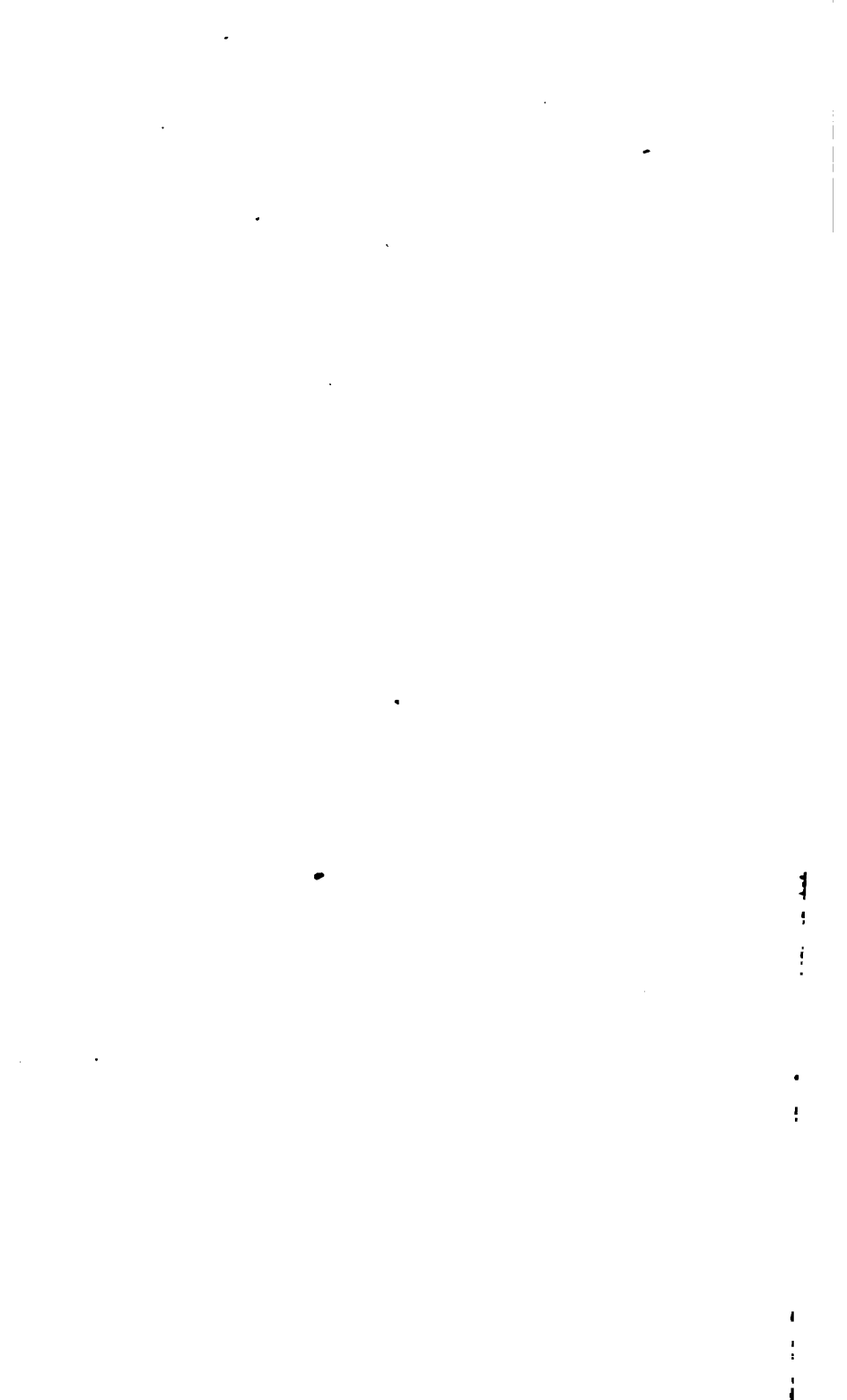


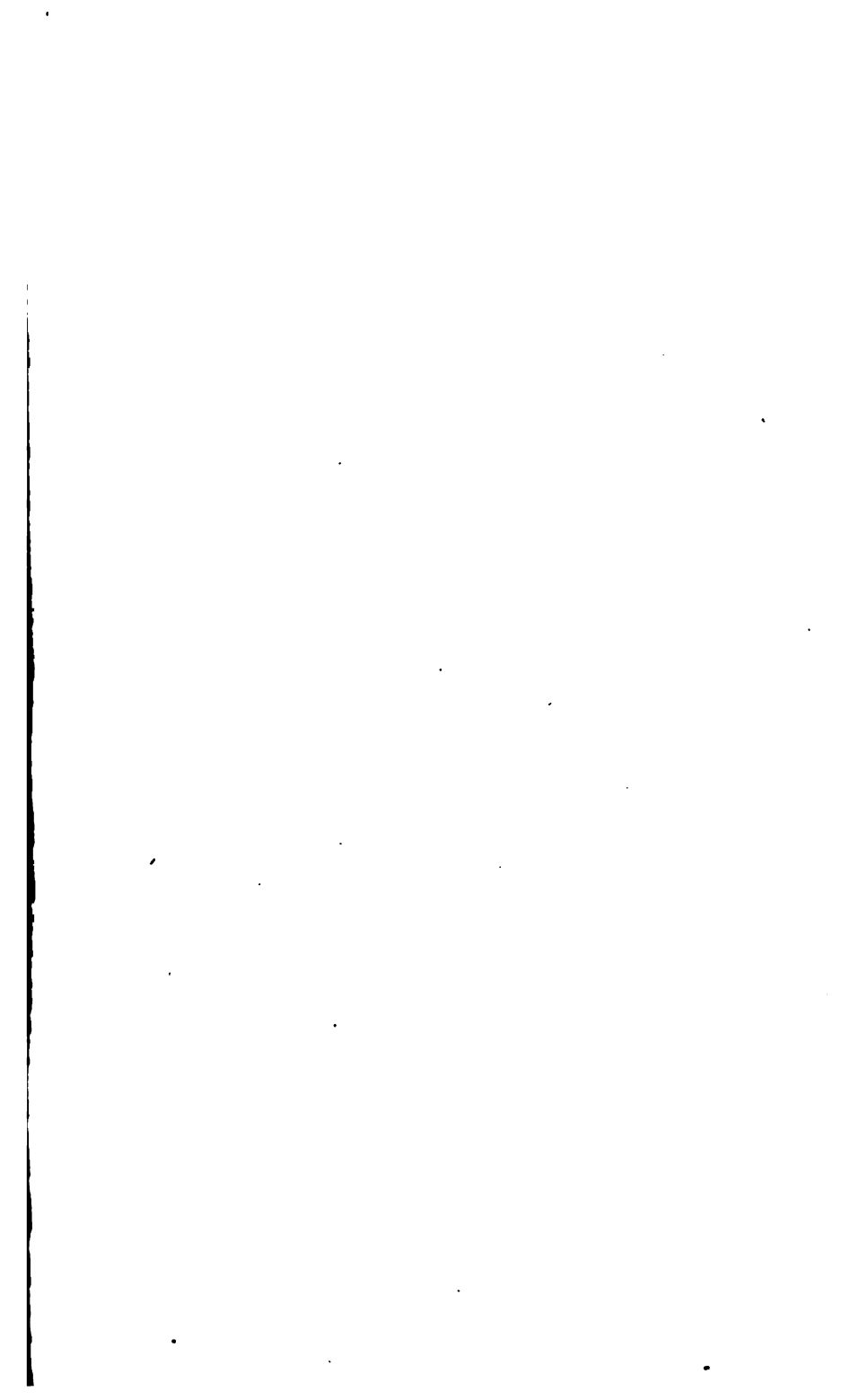
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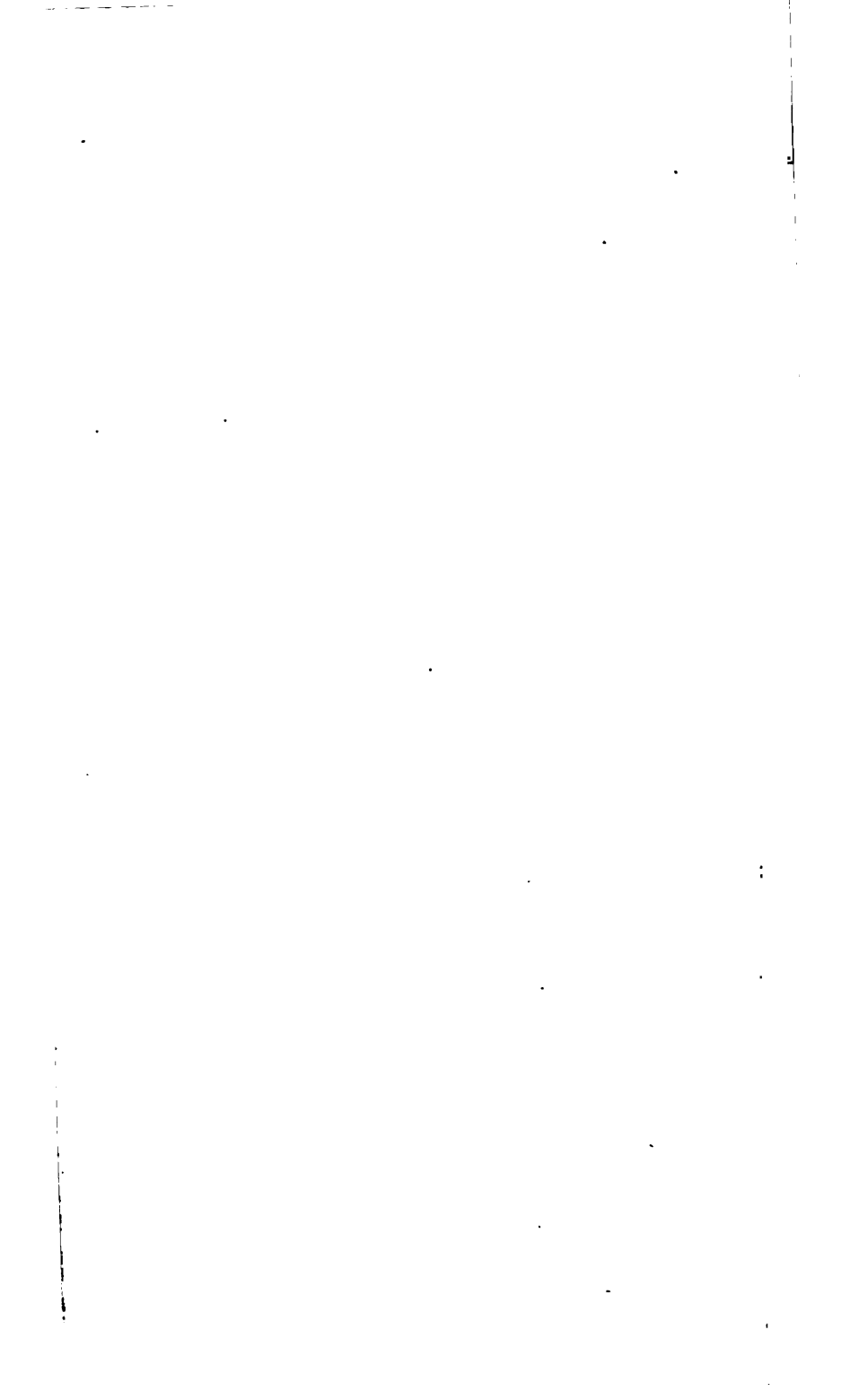
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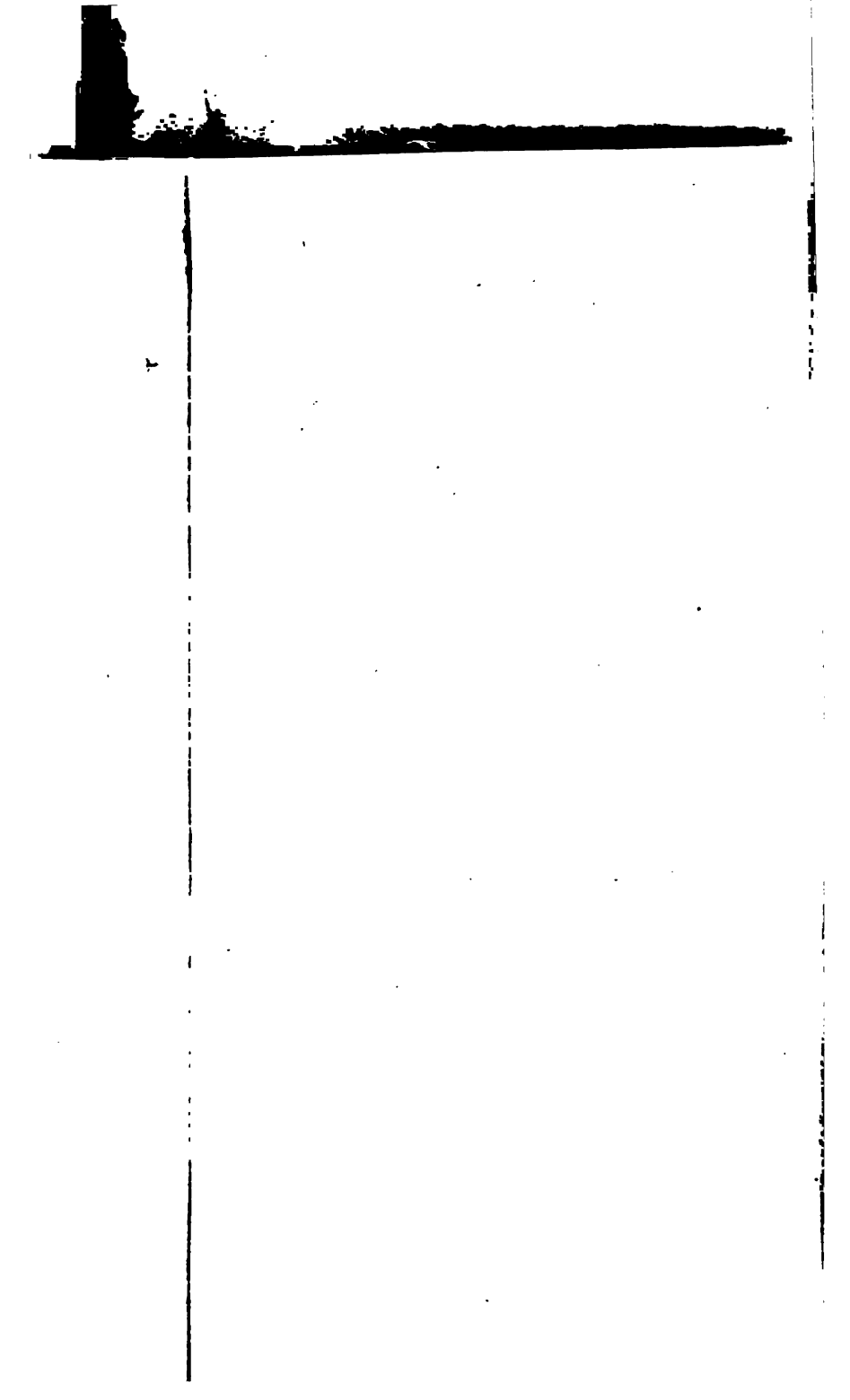


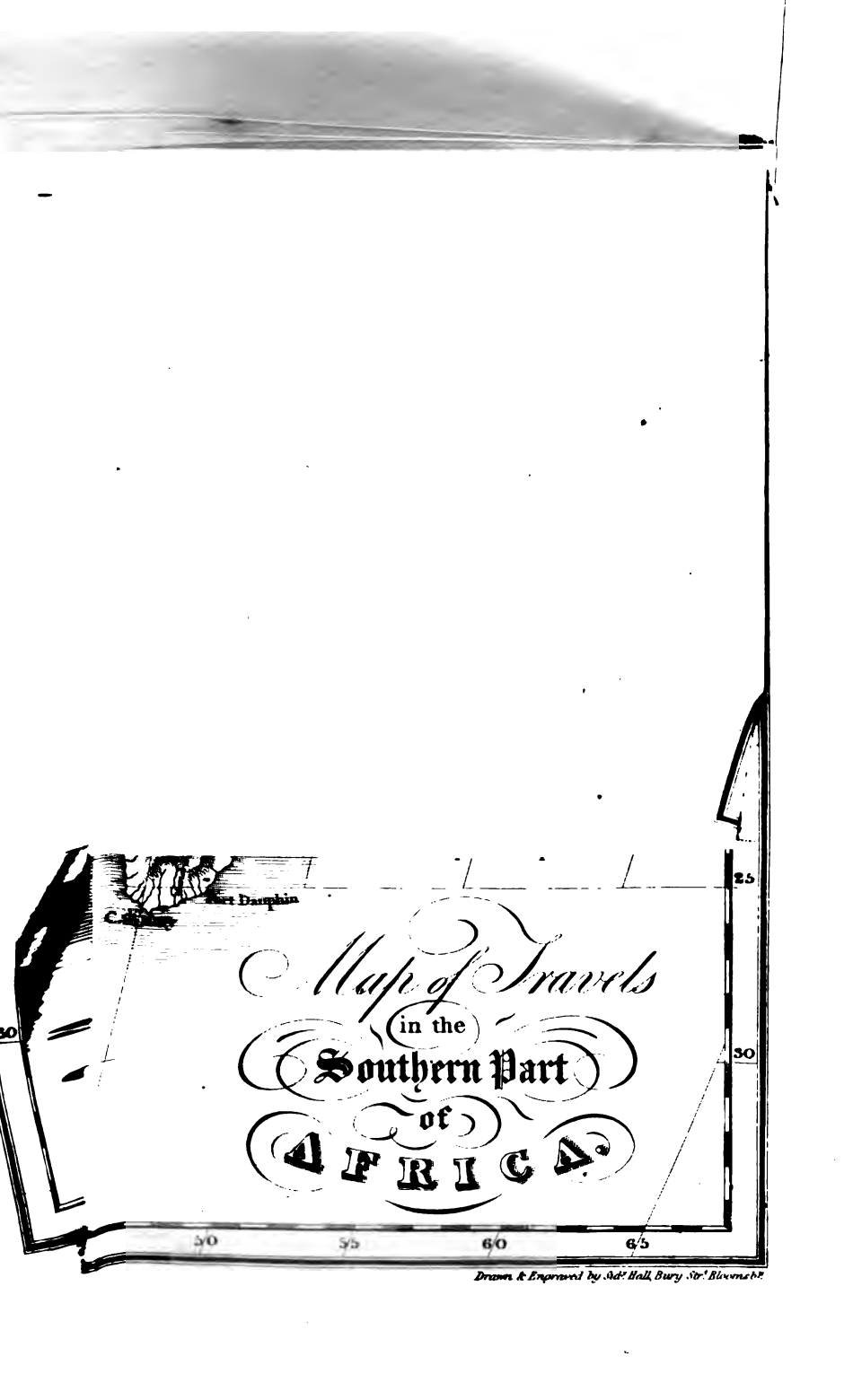












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# The OF AFRICA

CONTAINING A CONCISE ACCOUNT OF

ALL THE COUNTRIES

IN THAT QUARTER OF THE GLOBE,

HITHERTO VISITED BY EUROPEANS;

WITH THE

**Manners and Customs**

OF

THE INHABITANTS.

SELECTED FROM THE BEST AUTHORS,

AND ARRANGED BY

CATHERINE HUTTON.

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VOL. II.

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Being fully persuaded that he who is in the constant pursuit of any object,  
acquires from thence the ability to attain his aim. DENON.

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR BALDWIN, CRADOCK, AND JOY,  
PATERNOSTER ROW.

1821.



Printed by J. Nichols and Son,  
26, Parliament Street, Westminster.

**GIFT**

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AN  
ACCOUNT  
OF  
A PART OF ABYSSINIA, MOZAMBIQUE,  
SOUTH AFRICA, BENGUELA, ANGOLA, CONGO,  
CACONGO, LOANGA, BENIN, DAHOMY,  
ASHANTEE, THE GOLD COAST, SIERRA LEONE,  
AND FOOTA JALLON.





## PREFACE.

---

IN pursuance of my plan, I now offer to the Public a continuation of *The Tour of Africa*; and I here repeat my former affirmation, that, though the Traveller be imaginary, all he relates is strictly true, as far as the most accredited Authors can be relied on.

After the publication of the First Volume, I was advised by a friend to place my authorities in the margin of the succeeding ones. I replied, "I cannot do so without destroying the illusion I have been endeavouring to create: I wish the Reader to think my Traveller a real personage while the page is under his eye, which he cannot do, if he see real names in the margin." My friend made no answer; but, as I have the greatest deference for his opinion, I attempted to follow his advice. I wrote "Barrow" opposite to one paragraph, "Lichtenstein" opposite another, and "Campbell" opposite a third; and I rang the changes upon Barrow, and Lichtenstein, and Campbell again and again; but I found it extremely troublesome, if not impracticable, and I gave up the task.

The same opinion as that of my friend has since appeared in a very respectable periodical publication \*, for which I have a great deference also. But I can assure my friends and critics that, in those countries where there have been different travellers, one paragraph is often extracted from several, and sometimes one sentence from two; and that the authors are so mingled, in order to form a regular whole, that, like the tub of feathers prepared by the fairy, it would be almost impossible for any bird to find his own. I must therefore content myself with a general list of my Authorities, which will be found at the end of the Volume.

I have extracted little from the Travels of Vaillant, though, vanity excepted, he appears to me an author of veracity; and I have wholly omitted his journey to the north of the Orange river from respect to the public opinion.

There is in Vaillant an air of romance that invalidates his testimony relating to facts; a desire to be thought a hero that lessens his real exploits. Had he assumed less, credit would have been given him for more. One moment he is at a distance from civilized society, and glorying in his emancipation from the restraints it imposes; the next, he is entering, or passing, a farm-house. In the first instance he speaks his feelings on present appearances; in the other he speaks from facts; a man who had formed a design to impose upon

\* Monthly Review.

his readers would probably have steered clear of such palpable contradictions.

With regard to Vaillant's expedition to the north of the Orange river, Slabert, the son of his friend, is said to have asserted that he returned before this journey could possibly have been performed; and Mrs. Vander Westhuysen is said to have affirmed that he was only ten days absent from her house, and that he passed these ten days in exploring the Kamies mountains. Vaillant is gone to that "undiscovered country" from whence he can send no answer to these charges; but, on the other side of the question it may be said, that his narrative bears strong internal marks of authenticity. I am not aware that it contains any event which might not have happened, or describes any object which might not have appeared, in such a journey, unless the puff-paste of the desert be one. The imaginary appearance of fleeting villages, wag-gons and flocks, is not one; for such a deception of vision was experienced, as has already been related, by the British army in the Desert of Egypt. The Kaminouquas of Vaillant are certainly a tribe of Namaquas or Koranas; his Kabobiquas are assuredly Caffers, though he did not know that Caffers existed in this part of the country; and, what is yet more remarkable, his favourite Houzuanas are, in every point, Bosjesmans, a people whom he did not know, and whom, from the report of the colonists, he detested. If

Vaillant really went this journey, I apprehend it was upon ground since untrodden by any European ; and if any European follow his steps, the desert and the mountains will be found ; but the inhabitants of the country will probably have changed their names and their places.

As I have inserted in the present Volume the questions proposed by the Secretary of State to Mr. Matra, and the answers by Mr. Jackson, it may be necessary to say how this document came into my possession.

When I read Adams's Narrative, I entertained strong doubts of its authenticity. I had, before this, read Jackson's Account of Marocco, and had remarked in the author a spirit of enquiry, and a careful examination of facts, together with great opportunities of acquiring information. This gave me a full reliance on his judgment and veracity ; and fearing to trust my own opinion respecting Adams, I ventured to ask that of Mr. Jackson, though a perfect stranger to every thing relating to this gentleman, except his book. His answer did not remove my doubts, but it led the way to a friendly correspondence between him and myself, in the course of which he transmitted to me the questions and answers respecting Timbuctoo and Houssa.

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## CHAPTER I.

### BAYS OF HOWAKIL AND AMPHILA.

#### SECOND VISIT TO TIGRE.

**H**AVING recovered from the fatigue of my journey through the Great Desert of Nubia, I left Assouan, and sailed down the Nile to Keneh. Here I took leave for ever of Egypt, the country whose ancient architecture I had viewed with so much admiration ; and of the Nile, whose course I had traced with such enthusiasm.

My intention was to pursue the Tour of Africa, beginning at the part of its eastern coast, next to that I had already visited ; and, for this purpose, I again crossed the desert from Keneh to Cossier. Great and small are relative terms. The desert, which on my first crossing it appeared of some magnitude, now shrunk to a trifle, on a comparison with that I had lately traversed : its marble mountains, however, continued to excite my admiration.

At Cossier I embarked on the Red Sea. I am no sailor, nor do I attempt to write voyages ; I shall therefore not trouble my reader with nautical terms ; but merely inform him, that, sailing as near the African coast as was consistent with prudence, and not running upon rocks for the sake of trying whether I could get off them, I passed by Suakem and Dahalac, and anchored in Howakil Bay.

Howakil Bay is in 15° 1' north latitude. Here I landed on the island of the same name, and, with my attendants, I walked two miles over a flat plain, towards the village of Howakil. Our approach seemed to occasion great alarm among the inhabitants; but as I had one of their people with me, I dispatched him to the rest, to assure them we were friends. On hearing this, they stopped, and drew up in a line, with an old man in the centre. After the usual salutation of Salam Alicum, to which we returned Alicum Salam, we touched the hand of every man in company, each man kissing his own hand on withdrawing it. I had with me one of the Somaui, a tribe which inhabits the whole coast, from the straits of Bab el Mandeb to Cape Gardafui, and who are the merchants that convey the ivory, gold, and slaves to Arabia, and the manufactures of India to the interior of Africa. The Chief of Howakil now addressed himself to my Somaui, while both companies remained silent, opposite each other. "How do you do?" was the first question; the answer was, "Well." The chief then said, "Thanks be to God. Is all well?" the answer was, "Yes, all well." The chief then proceeded to ask, "Where are you from?" The Somaui said, "from Cosseir." "What news?" "Good news." "God be praised," said the chief. After this followed a series of questions respecting Cosseir, which my Somaui answered in order and in detail, not forgetting the present price of every article of merchandize.

Silence at length prevailing, the Somaui asked the chief if he had done, and on being answered in the affirmative, he proposed in his turn the same

string of questions, beginning with "How do you do?" and ending with, "How does butter sell at Masûah, Dahalac, and Aréna?" After these enquiries had been answered in form, the people again offered us their hands, and, turning about, led the way to their village.

A very neat hut was prepared for me; a kid was killed; a large quantity of fresh milk was brought in straw baskets; a new mat was spread upon my couch; and a piece of Arabian silk was laid by the Sheik, with his own hands, to serve me for a pillow.

At day-break the next morning I ascended the first ridge of hills which bounded the plain. The plain sloped gradually to the sea, and was spotted with acacia trees, under which hundreds of the finest milch goats were wandering with their kids. In the centre of the plain stood the village, consisting of about forty circular huts, neatly covered with mats. The appearance of plenty which met my eye is, however, of short duration; for soon after the rains have ceased, the ground becomes parched, and the supply of water exhausted. To the north of this view lay the Bay of Howakil.

Aréna lies in a recess at the bottom of the bay. On going ashore, I found a party of Somauli traders, who had established a small factory at this place for the purchase of slaves, horses, cattle, goats, and butter. The Somaulies have woolly hair, which they draw out in points in every direction; but their noses are not flat. They have fine limbs, a very dark skin, and beautifully white teeth; and the expression of their countenance is not displeasing.

In Howakil Bay the thermometer was from 75 to 78°.

From Howakil I sailed to Amphila Bay, in latitude 14° 45' north, and longitude 41° east. This bay extends sixteen miles along the coast, and contains thirteen islands, which are not inhabited, but are sometimes visited by the natives of the main land. In an excursion which I made on the island of Anto Sukkeer I saw a party composed of three men and two women, assembled round a fire, and eating—not broiled fowls and oyster sauce, but something not totally different—about a dozen half grown eagles, and two bushels of shell-fish; while the parent birds were hovering and screaming over the broiled bodies of their young ones, and the heads of their devourers.

At the bottom of the Bay of Amphila, on the main land, lie the two villages of Madir and Duroro. I visited the Chief of Madir, who came out to meet me, attended by about twenty men, dancing, and shaking their lances to do me honour. I was conducted to the largest of the huts of which this miserable village was composed. The Chief employed himself in sewing a garment, and at parting presented me with an ox. The supply of water in this neighbourhood is obtained from wells, and many of these are, in the dry season, so salt as to be unfit for use. A number of troughs made of clay, are placed near the wells, for watering the camels. The inhabitants are of the tribe of Dumhoeta.

The country around Amphila Bay is part of an extensive tract formerly called the kingdom of Dancali; the inhabitants of which are now di-

vided into a number of petty tribes, each ruled by a separate chief. All the tribes speak the same language. They profess the religion of Mohamed, of which, however, they know little more than the name, having neither mosques nor priests in their country. They lead a wandering life, shifting their station as occasion requires, for pasture for their cattle. Though each tribe be perfectly independent, all are ready, at a short warning, to unite for the common cause; and, being daring, resolute, and active, they would be very formidable, were not their poverty so great that scarcely one in ten possesses any weapon of offence. Their united forces are said to amount to full 6,000 men.

The women of the coast have pleasing features; and whenever we entered their huts they offered us seats and water; which was, in general, all the huts afforded. The hair of the men was frizzed out, covered with grease, and powdered with brown dust; that of the women was plaited in small tresses, and their arms and legs were adorned with rings of ivory and silver. Both men and women were extravagantly fond of tobacco, which they chewed, smoked, and took as snuff.

The huts were each divided into two or three apartments, and were covered with mats made of the leaves of the doom palm. Their furniture consisted of a few couches, some culinary utensils, and a large jar to hold water. Bouza is not unknown to them. At a marriage it is supplied by the friends, and the foot of a kid is cut off, and hung up in the house of the chief, to mark the event. I accidentally discovered one of their burying-grounds in a secluded spot, between two

tolerably pure to the depth of three feet ; but in general not more than two, when it is mixed with the soil, and unfit for use. From this plain the whole country of Abyssinia is supplied with salt.

On the fourth day we proceeded over steep and rugged passes in the mountains, to the village of Dafo, which is situated in an extensive and verdant plain, inhabited by a tribe called Hurtoo. These people were subdued at an early period by the Abyssinians, and have ever since been subject to the governor of Tigre. Here the influence of Ali Manda ceased ; but, as friends of the Ras, we continued to be treated with hospitality.

On the fifth day we arrived at the foot of the mountain Senafé, another Taranta, full as high, but not so difficult as the former. These seem to be the giants which guard the kingdom of Abyssinia on the east, and almost forbid the approach to it. The country between Dafo and the foot of this mountain was exceedingly beautiful. At the latter station resides an officer of the Ras, who collects the duties on the salt imported into Tigre. A camel carrying two hundred pieces pays eleven ; a mule, whose load is eighty, pays nine ; and a loaded ass six. Men who carry salt are permitted to pass free.

On the sixth day we ascended Senafé, and experienced, as before, on the summit of these mountains, a complete change of seasons. Here we stopped at a village, to refresh ourselves, and then, proceeding through a rich and fertile country, in three hours we arrived at a large town called Hammee. On the seventh day we reached Dirbé, and on the eighth Chelicut.

The Ras whom I had known at Gondar was

dead, and the chief residence of the present Ras was Antálo, the capital of the province of Enderta. Chelicut, which is nearly ten miles distant, on account of the road winding half round the base of a mountain, might be considered as his country residence. The church here is rich. Its store-room contains, among other articles, eleven mitres of pure silver, inlaid with gold, two habits of black velvet, studded with silver, a Venetian cloth, handsomely embroidered, and a large silver drum hooped with gold.

At Chelicut I witnessed the arrival of a caravan from the Salt-plain. It consisted of several hundred mules and asses laden with salt, escorted by a nephew of the Ras, at the head of two hundred men, who had gone down to the plain for this purpose. As they descended into the valley of Chelicut, the inhabitants of the village went out to meet them, and greeted them with the same acclamations as if they had returned from battle. The service of escorting these caravans is, indeed, little less hazardous; for the neighbourhood of the Salt-plain is infested by a race of Galla, who lie in wait for the men employed in cutting the salt; and it is said that these men, in the absence of the officer and his party, lie flat on the surface, to escape observation, and, on the approach of a stranger, flee to the mountains. The soldiers have frequently skirmishes with the Galla, in which however these savage borderers are generally the sufferers. Six of them had been killed in this expedition, which was reckoned a number unusually small.

Chelicut is in latitude  $13^{\circ} 21' 34''$  north, and in longitude  $40^{\circ} 37' 17''$  east.



## CHAPTER II.

## EASTERN AFRICA.

FROM Amphila Bay I continued my course southward till I came to an anchor off the village of Ayth. This village, which consists of about forty huts only, is the capital of a district. I did not go on shore; but our supercargo, who knew the place and the people, said that the tribe consisted of about two hundred persons, including men, women and children; that they were stout and well-featured, but miserably poor, no grain being cultivated in their country, and little imported. The present Sheik was said to be a hundred years old, and a man of mild and friendly manners.

From passing the Straits of Bab el Mandeb till I reached the Portuguese settlement of Mosambique, I must confess to my reader that I am obliged to give him an account of my wishes, rather than of my expeditions; of what I desired to see, rather than what I actually saw; winds, currents, ignorance of the coast, and various other causes, prohibiting further research.

The first place I wished to see was the town of Zeyla; but I saw it not; the second was the town of Berbera; but I could not see it; nor do I know of any European who has visited either. It is said that a regular commerce is now carried on through Berbera, between Arabia and the former

southern provinces of Abyssinia, Hurrur and Efat. These provinces were long the objects of contention between the Abyssinians and the Moors of Adel; they are now independent kingdoms, under the government of their respective sovereigns. The capital of the former is called Hurrur; that of the latter Ankober.

About five miles from Somauli point I went on shore, but I met with little worthy of observation. The herbage was scanty, the soil sandy, and impregnated with salt. A salt-lake reached nearly from the coast, to a considerable distance on the plain, the other parts of which appeared to be covered with trees. Numbers of aquatic birds were on the lake, and on its borders stood the ibis of the ancient Egyptians. At some distance from the spot where I landed were a few huts, and I saw some people engaged in fishing; but evening approaching, I could not attempt any intercourse with them.

We now passed a coast of which I can say nothing, except that it is inhabited by different tribes of Somauli. To the southward of this I saw the land between Mugdasho and Berawa, and the latter of these towns, which makes a respectable appearance towards the sea. On one of the small islands in front of it stands a light-house of a tolerable height. Berawa is in  $1^{\circ} 12''$  north latitude, and  $44^{\circ} 10''$  east longitude.

Having crossed the equator, my next wish was to see the Island of Zanzibar; the winds, however, were not obedient to my wishes, and I was obliged to be content with the following account of it from the Captain of an English ship, who had visited its coast.

The Island of Zanzebar is about forty-five miles in length, and fifteen in breadth. The eastern shore is bold and woody; the climate is tolerably healthy; the island is well supplied with water, and abounds with excellent pasturage. The inhabitants are Mohamedans, of Arab extraction, and carry on an extensive trade in slaves, gums, ivory, antimony, blue vitriol, and senna, with the Isles of France and Madagascar, and the Arabian Gulph. The Sheik of Zanzebar, who is subject to the Iman of Muscat, has under his command about a hundred native soldiers, who are chiefly employed in preserving peace at home. The only kinds of grain cultivated are juwarry and rice. An ox sells for five dollars, a sheep for half a dollar, fowls are very reasonable, fruit is excellent, and of various sorts, and there is a constant supply of fish in the market.

The island of Pemba is low, and about forty-two miles long. It is said to be still more fertile than that of Zanzebar. The Island of Monfia is at present unknown, though it is said to resemble the others in fertility. All three are situated in the same deep bay, as it may be justly called, and chiefly between the fifth and sixth degrees of south latitude.

I now anchored in the harbour of Mosambique, where I saw a fort with six bastions, and twelve Portuguese vessels riding in the port. The town occupies the central part of an island of the same name, which stretches across the mouth of a very deep bay. This island is about two miles and a half long, and a quarter of a mile broad; it is in the form of a crescent, with the hollow part facing the sea. The first view of the town comprehends

a strange mixture of Indian, Arabian, and European costume. I was conducted to the government-house, which was a very conspicuous object ; and was graciously received by the governor, who invited me to dine with him. After dinner we retired into another room, where tea and coffee were set out in a splendid service of pure gold, of excellent workmanship. The gold was brought from Sena, a Portuguese settlement in the interior, and wrought by the Banians resident on the Island of Mosambique. On days of ceremony the governor has two or three black slaves in attendance, who are almost overwhelmed with the load of golden ornaments with which they are incumbered ; remnants of the splendor once attendant on these Viceroys of Eastern Africa.

On my expressing a desire to see the fort, an officer accompanied me thither. It contained about eighty pieces of cannon. And a few centuries, some imprisoned felons, and two or three old women with cakes to sell, constituted the whole of the garrison.

On the following day I attended the governor in his state barge to Mesuril, his country residence, which is situated nearly at the bottom of the bay, and about nine miles from the town. The house consisted of one range of apartments only ; but the country around was beautiful. In front was a grove of orange, lemon, citron, and papaw trees ; behind was a thick wood of cocoa-nut, mango, cashew, and other lofty trees.

The village of Mesuril has been the favourite spot for building among the Portuguese settlers, and contains many good houses ; but the situation must necessarily be unhealthy ; as thick woods

- remain, with all the luxuriance of primitive vegetation. Three other villages, on a smaller scale are in the vicinity of Mosambique.

After breakfast we set out on a shooting excursion. How different from hunting the elephant on foot! I am ashamed to tell that, in the vigour of youth and health, I lay stretched at full length on a mattrass, and was carried by poles on the shoulders of four men weaker than myself. I would be understood to mean that they had less muscular strength; but as they exerted this in my service, while I remained inactive, I am afraid I must consider the bearers as better men than he who submitted to be carried. These native men of burthen, when they are weary, transfer the load from one shoulder to the other without stopping, and without the load sustaining the slightest additional motion. They run, for a short distance, at the rate of five miles an hour.

For about a mile, the road ran through a continued plantation of cocoa-nut trees, interspersed with the huts of the inhabitants. On leaving the road, the view opened on a country planted with manioca, and divided into squares by rows of cashew and mango trees.

After having been carried about three miles, we came to a building in an inclose darea, which proved to be a manufactory of manioca \* belonging to a Portuguese, who was said to employ here two hundred slaves. The roots of this plant are cleaned, scraped, and dried in the sun to a proper con-

\* Manioca, cassada, or cassava is sold in our shops under the name of tapioca. It is said to be the least nutritious of all substitutes for bread. The Portuguese call it farinha de pao, or meal of wood.

sistency. They are then ground, and the pulp is put into bags, which are afterwards pressed with heavy weights, to extract the remainder of the juice, which, it is said, is poisonous. The mass is then broken to pieces with the hands, and dried on stoves, which reduces it to a farina; this, mixed with water, is almost the sole food of the slaves.

At Mesuril I heard mass in the Governor's chapel. The governor, the bishop, a lady attended by two black female slaves, a detachment of native troops, and myself, composed the congregation. The bishop, who had just returned from a shooting excursion, wore half boots and scarlet stockings. The badge of his profession was a splendid diamond cross, which hung sparkling in the folds of his waistcoat.

In the afternoon we walked to the house of one of the planters about a mile distant, to see some native traders from the interior, who had come down with a cafila of slaves, gold, and elephant's teeth for sale. These people were of a nation called Monjou. They were Negroes of the ugliest description, with high cheek bones, thick lips, and small knots of woolly hair, like peppercorns. Their skins were a deep shining black. Their arms were bows and arrows, and short lances with iron shafts; and each man carried two pieces of wood, like those used at Sennaar, for the purpose of obtaining fire.

Some of the Monjou said that they had been three months on their journey; but that it might have been performed in half the time. Others said they had been upwards of two months; but that the journey might be accomplished in forty-

five days. Forty-five days of actual travelling at fifteen miles a day would give a distance of 675 miles ; but this could not be performed without some days of rest.

In the evening the planter took me to a kind of fair, held for bartering salt, shells, beads, tobacco, coloured handkerchiefs, and Surat cloths, for the slaves, gold, and ivory of the simple Mojou traders. The people of the interior are so desirous to dispose of their fellow creatures, that the Portuguese traders who visit their country procure a man for the value of two dollars in the above articles of exchange : the black traders who frequent the settlement are not only more experienced, but they must be repaid their travelling expences ; they therefore set a higher price upon their merchandize, disposing of men, women, and children, at the rate of from three to four pounds sterling each, and able-bodied men at five pounds.

I saw at Mosambique, slaves *permitted* to dance, as a horse, with whip and spur, is sometimes *permitted* to gallop, that standing too long in the stable may not injure his health. And I saw five hundred of these unfortunate creatures shipped at once on board the Portuguese vessels at Mosambique.

I shall now proceed to detail such particulars of this country and its inhabitants as I was able to obtain at Mosambique.

The Makooa are a people consisting of many powerful tribes, extending to the westward of this settlement, and northward as far as Melinda, in latitude 3° south, and southward to the mouth of the river Zambezi, in latitude about 14°. They are a strong, athletic race of Negroes, inveterate

enemies of the Portuguese ; and not without reason, from the scandalous practices of the traders of that nation, who have gone among them to purchase slaves. They are armed with spears, darts, and poisoned arrows, and also possess a considerable number of muskets, which they purchase of the Arabs to the northward. The Makooa are in the constant habit of making incursions in the Portuguese territory on this coast. In the last of these, they destroyed the plantations, burnt the slave huts, and carried off the people ; and having penetrated as far as Mesuril, they plundered the governor's house, knocked down the image of St. John, and converted the sacerdotal garments of the priest into a habit of ceremony for their chief.

The principal force the Portuguese have to oppose to these invaders consists of some native tribes in alliance with them, who were themselves originally Makooa, but who were conquered by the Portuguese soon after the settlement of the colony. Their chiefs, who are styled Sheiks, are appointed by the Governor of Mosambique. The most formidable are the Sheiks of Quintangone, St. Cûl, and Sereima. The first of these, whose district lies north of Mosambique, is said to command four or five thousand men capable of bearing arms. The district of St. Cûl is to the south of Mosambique, and is said to supply about three thousand men. The sovereign of Sereima was at this time a woman, who could bring about fifteen hundred men into the field. But the united force of all these chiefs, and, as they may be termed, vassals of the Portuguese, are scarcely sufficient to resist the furious attacks of the Makooa.



The Makooa tattoo their skins, and in so rude a manner that they sometimes raise the marks the eighth of an inch above the surface. The fashionable manner of disposing these embellishments on the human face is in an indented stripe, which runs down the middle of the forehead, along the nose, and so on to the end of the chin ; and another such stripe which crosses it at right angles, and runs from ear to ear ; giving the face the appearance of having been formed in four quarters by nature, and having been sewed together by art. The mode of dressing the hair admits of greater variety. Some shave only one side of the head, leaving the other in its natural state ; others shave both sides, leaving a crest in the middle, which extends from the forehead to the nape of neck ; while a few leave only a simple tuft at the top of the forehead. They bore the gristle of the nose, and suspend from it ornaments of copper or of bone. They file their teeth to a point ; so that the set resembles a coarse saw ; this operation, however, does not injure the colour of the teeth, or subject them to decay. The upper lip protrudes greatly, but not sufficiently to satisfy Makooa ideas of female beauty ; the women therefore take especial care to lengthen it, by introducing in the centre a small circular piece of ivory, wood, or iron.

All these circumstances taken into consideration ; and add to these the bending of the back, and the projection of the part below ; and it is scarcely possible to find an object further removed from our ideas of female beauty than a Makooa woman who has past the middle age.

Wild as the Makooa are in their native state,

they are docile and useful when they become slaves; and such as are partially admitted to freedom, by being enrolled as soldiers, improve quickly, and their fidelity may be relied upon.

The river Zambezi leads to the gold marts of the interior, and the Portuguese had early settlements on this river, which they still hold, and which form a line of communication to the westward. These are Senà, Tête, and Zumbo.

From the Island of Mosambique, a vessel may sail southward to Quilimanci, at the mouth of the river Zambezi, in three or four days.

From Quilimanci to Senà is about 247 English miles, which may be accomplished in twelve days.

From Senà to Tête is one hundred and eighty miles.

From Tête to Zumbo takes nearly a month.

At Quilimanci the vessels transfer their cargoes to pinnaces and boats, which sail up the river. At the distance of fifteen miles the water becomes fresh, and the current rapid. At the distance of ninety miles from its mouth, the river widens considerably, a branch called Luabo, which is little frequented here, striking off to the southward. The left bank of the river is in the possession of the Portuguese; the right is inhabited by independent native tribes.

Senà is a considerable town on the southern bank of the river, containing about two thousand inhabitants, and protected by a fort. The governor commands all the lesser establishments on the Zambezi, but is himself subordinate to the Governor of Mosambique. About twenty days journey south-west of Senà is Manica, a great mart for gold, where an annual fair is held, to which

the Portuguese traders resort with their merchandise. The first part of their journey lies through a country under the influence of the Portuguese ; the second part belongs to native tribes, who receive presents for leave to pass through their several districts.

A sovereign, who has been called the Emperor of Monomotapa, but whose real title is that of Quitéve, and whose country is probably Motapa, also demands a tribute for permission to carry on this trade ; and a deputation is sent annually from Senà to Zimbaoa, his capital, where the tribute is laid with great ceremony at the feet of this monarch while he is sitting in full state. Zimbaoa is reported to be about forty days' journey from Senà, and about fifteen to the west of Sofala.

The country around Manica is extremely fertile, abounding with provisions and cattle. It is very mountainous, subject to frequent storms of thunder and lightning, and, at times, to a degree of cold unusual in such a latitude.

The navigation of the river is much more dangerous and tedious from Senà to Tête than from Quilimanci to Senà. About half way between Senà and Tête is the pass of Lupata, formed by two impending mountains of black rock, which confine the water in so small a space that a child might throw a stone across it. A rock also rises in the middle of the stream, on which many boats are lost, owing to the rapidity of the current. The country north of the river is subject to the natives. The Portuguese continue to boast their dominion over the southern bank ; though they confess that, a little to the eastward of Lupata, lies a kingdom called Jambarra, governed by a pow-

erful sovereign who despises their authority, and that, west of this, there are two other districts equally independent.

Tête is a village, with a fort, on the southern bank. Here merchandise is deposited, and here the Governor of Senà generally resides. At Tête the Portuguese territory extends to both sides of the river.

From Tête to Zumbo the first fifteen days are employed in travelling by land, on account of falls which interrupt the navigation of the river. This brings the trader to a place called Chicova, where he again embarks on the river, but in small shallow boats, in which he proceeds to Zumbo.

At Zumbo, which is another mart for gold, the Portuguese have established a small factory by permission of the natives; of the country beyond Zumbo no information could be obtained. It is said, however, that the Portuguese have a direct communication across the continent, from Mosambique to their settlements of Congo, Loango, and Benguela, on the western coast, by means of negro merchants who are established in different parts of the country.

I returned from Mesuril to Mosambique along the northern shore of the bay, and I observed several trees of the kind called malumpava. I measured one of these, growing in a remote thicket, the trunk of which was seventy feet in circumference; but this tree seems to expend its powers of vegetation in the trunk, as the leaves and branches are few in proportion.

In the height of their power, the settlements of the Portuguese extended from Socatra, in latitude 13° north, to the Cape de l' Agoa, in 26° south;

they still reach from Cape Delgado, in about  $10^{\circ}$  north, to Cape Corientes, in about  $23^{\circ}$  south.

It is said that the number of slaves annually exported from Mosambique is upwards of 4,000; and it is said that not more than seven in a hundred of European soldiers survive five years service at Mosambique, and that the mortality is nearly the same among all other classes of Europeans. Thus does a righteous Providence ordain that the climate shall avenge the wrongs of the natives upon their tyrants.

Mosambique is in latitude  $15^{\circ} 10'$  south, and in longitude  $41^{\circ}$  east. The height of the thermometer during my stay was from 86 to 89 degrees.

I now sailed to the southward, and anchored in de l'Agoa Bay, which is nearly thirty miles in depth from east to west, and about sixty in breadth from north to south. It is much frequented by South-sea whalers, but is little known to other voyagers. Several large rivers empty themselves into it, of which the river Mafumo, where we anchored is the southernmost. The entrance of this river is four miles wide. The river is said to be navigable by vessels drawing twelve feet water, for thirty or forty miles, and by large boats for some hundreds.

The inhabitants of this part of the coast are Caffers, tall, stout, strong, and well made. The men were nearly naked; the women wore a piece of cloth suspended from a girdle, with two or more pieces of leather, ornamented with beads, hanging down behind. The men shaved the head, leaving only one large tuft on the crown, which was raised in the form of a cone by small sticks placed within, and sewed together at the

top. Some, instead of this fabric, left a large tuft of hair on each side, which they drew through a brass ring. The women left hair in the shape of a crescent on the crown of the head. Both sexes shaved the eyebrows, leaving two small tufts in the middle. These various operations were performed by a sort of chisel made of a large nail, and without the assistance of water.

Men and women of rank wore heavy brass rings round the neck. I have seen some worn by women that were three inches in circumference, and weighed four or five pounds; those of the men were smaller, but several were worn together, and also on both arms, from the wrist to the elbow. These ornaments were certainly painful; but they were a mark of distinction, and descended to these people from their fathers. Both sexes wore rings on their fingers and toes, and the women large glass-beads round the neck. The poorer sort had few ornaments. All were tattooed on the face and breast, and rubbed with a composition of oil and red ochre.

The huts were neatly made, circular, about fifteen feet in diameter, and had a space in front inclosed with stumps of trees about four feet high. In the centre of the hut was a fire-place, with a small hollow running round it for putting the heels in, when the inhabitants sit round the fire. Some used the back-bone of the whale as a seat; some slept in a bed-place neatly plastered, and raised at the head as a pillow; and the better sort had a bed raised about two feet from the ground on four sticks.

Their common food is fish and Indian corn; but they would eat even the entrails of a goat or

bullock, only squeezing out the contents of the bowels, and putting them on the fire to warm. Dead whales that came on shore were equally welcome. The slaves, who had been taken in battle, looked miserably; and when I enquired how they were fed, one of the natives replied, "Same as bullock," and added, that in times of great scarcity they were themselves obliged to eat grass.

These people have most unhappily acquired from the English, fishing on their coast, a passion for strong liquors. I saw many of them drink several tumblers of brandy, in which these miscreants, who were now in the bay, had put a quantity of red pepper, and in a few minutes they asked for more. All who could procure tobacco were continually smoking it in long pipes made of iron.

I met with great civility from the inhabitants of the villages, who gave me milk and water, and dressed for me the game I shot. It is true that, if I permitted them, they would cut the buttons from my coat; but upon my shewing the least dissatisfaction they always desisted. The men were generally sitting in circles round a fire, while the women were beating rice, or Indian corn, or employed in some other laborious occupation. I saw women labouring in the fields, and cutting down wood, while the men were attending them armed; and I saw women with heavy burthens on their heads, and a child in a goat's skin on their backs, travelling, for miles, along the shore. A man, however, would work a whole day on board one of the English vessels for a handful of sugar. They were good-humoured, and laughed on the

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slightest occasions; and I did not meet with an instance of their taking any thing that was not given or sold, though temptation lay in their way in a variety of forms. I imagine that all the wives were virtuous; for it was a sufficient proof of a woman's chastity to say she was a wife.

The Portuguese fort, which was situated on the north side of the river, has been destroyed by the French; but the Portuguese still carry on some trade here, and a ship comes here every year from Mosambique. We purchased a bullock weighing 400lb. for a piece of coarse blue linen-cloth ten or twelve yards long, and five good fowls for ten old buttons.

Several of the natives spoke English tolerably well, from their intercourse with the whalers; but they could not pronounce the *th*.

The people have boats, which are nearly in the form of a fishing coble, and are sewed together with the bark of trees, and the seams payed with cow-dung. These have a mast and a mat-sail, and will carry from twelve to twenty persons, but they are rowed only by two.

On going on shore one day, on the north side of the river, I was surrounded by more than a hundred and fifty of the natives, about forty of whom were young men who had lately been circumcised, and were habited in the war dress. This consists of reeds hung round the neck and waist, and a high cap made of rushes, and ornamented with red and white beads, with holes left for the eyes, nose, and mouth; this is drawn over the face in time of battle. These young people entertained me with a dance and chorus, in which the movements kept exact time to the sounds. They were



first drawn up in two lines, then formed a column, and lastly a circle, in which they danced some time with great exertion. Then, stopping suddenly, and sounding the whistles they all wore hanging from the neck, they screamed, shouted, and dispersed.

Cappelleh was the name of the sovereign on the south side of the river, and it was said that his dominions extended ten days journey up the country, and five along the coast. Mafumo was the most powerful chief on the north side, and was the ally of the Portuguese; but since their departure, Wambo had expelled him, and taken possession of his territories. I was visited by two of Wambo's officers, who were dressed in long red gowns, and appeared to despise the people on the southern side of the river.

I saw Capelleh several times, and had the pleasure of adding to his wardrobe a scarlet waistcoat laced with gold. He was a tall thin man, about sixty years of age; and was always accompanied by two or three of his wives, and attended by a guard of thirty men, armed with spears and battle-axes, made from old spike-nails, and carrying shields made of the rhinoceros' hide.

On taking leave of Capelleh, one of his guard approached him, bowed, and knelt down three times, and then performed a curious dance, in which he tumbled, rolled on the ground, and sounded his antelope's horn in a variety of tones, much to the satisfaction of his master and his followers, who shouted and laughed immoderately. The king then rose, and I attended him to his hut, where I was regaled with Indian corn and sugar boiled in milk. After this, I was given to

understand that he was going to perform some extraordinary feat. A hassagay was brought him by one of his attendants, and he pointed out a small bush, at the distance of about a hundred yards, as the mark he intended to hit : he then, after poisoning the weapon for some minutes, threw it with great strength and exactness into the bush. This having received all the applause due to the performance of a sovereign, I took leave of king Capelleh.

After leaving the Bay of De l'Agoa, my last wish regarding this coast was to see the Portuguese settlement at Sofala ; but a ship cannot approach this part of the coast without danger ; I therefore set out in search of this place in a boat. We landed on a point which formed the northern extremity of a bay ; the ground was covered with brushwood and small trees, and we saw the tracks of elephants, not of men. On advancing, we met with a deserted shed, near which were the remains of a fire, and the fragments of fish and cashew-nuts. To the south-west we fancied we could distinguish buildings, and we saw a volume of smoke arising behind them. We directed our steps towards the spot ; but buildings and smoke had vanished together, and not a trace of town, fort, or inhabitants, was to be seen.

We again got into the boat, and entering the mouth of a wide river, the shores of which were flat, and covered with wood, we saw, on the northern bank, two canoes hauled up on shore. On approaching them, a man quite naked, unless I may except a thick coat of mud, started from the beach with a spear in his hand, and running away, in great alarm, soon disappeared among the trees.

The place had the appearance of a village ; the trees were apparently planted with regularity, and we thought we could distinguish huts and people among them. We called out in Arabic, and in Portuguese, but received no answer ; we placed a knife and some biscuit in one of the canoes, as an inticement, and we hoisted a white handkerchief over them, as a token of amity ; but there our presents and our token were suffered to remain. Why we did not go on shore, I confess I cannot tell ; but we did exactly the contrary ; for we sailed back again.

A few miles from this spot, while we were sailing out of the bay, we fell in with three canoes filled with natives. We advanced boldly towards them ; but before we could reach them they jumped out, and drew their canoes on shore. The man whom I supposed to be the chief, from his wearing a covering on his head, and a blue cloth over his shoulders, walked leisurely up the beach ; the others took up their bundles, brandished their arrows to the head, and tore the branches from the trees. I asked them repeatedly where lay Sofala. Their answer was unintelligible ; their signs were unequivocal ; for they plainly bade us begone. We had no alternative. Hoping, however, to frighten the savages before we left them, we gave three cheers, and fired a pistol in the air. In this too we were unsuccessful ; for the savages were not frightened. They shouted in return, jumped and skipped along the beach, and shot their arrows at a mark to shew their skill ; while we returned to our ship.

It afterwards appeared that the bay we had visited was actually that of Sofala. Having, how-

ever, been so unlucky in my voyage of discovery, it was some consolation to me to be informed that Sofala itself was a miserable village, not worth seeing ; though the country around it was said to be extremely fertile, supplying the inhabitants of Mosambique with large quantities of rice, oranges, and many delicious fruits.

Nothing now occurred till we arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, and cast anchor in Table Bay.

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## CHAPTER III.

### CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

#### CAPE TOWN, AND GENERAL VIEW OF THE COLONY.

**T**ABLE BAY is in latitude  $33^{\circ} 55'$  south, longitude  $18^{\circ} 30'$  east. Cape Town is situated at the foot of the mountain, and at the head of the bay, and forms an ampitheatre which extends to the borders of the sea. The town consists of about eleven hundred houses, which are built with regularity, kept in neat order, disposed into straight and parallel streets, with others intersecting them at right angles. Many of the streets are open and airy, with canals of water running through them, that are walled on each side and planted with oaks ; others are narrow and ill paved. The entrance to the town, by the square of the fort, presents a noble view, many of the finest edifices

having been erected here. Besides this, there are two other squares ; in one the market is held ; and the other is the resort of the farmers, who come, with their waggons, from the remote districts of the colony.

The population of Cape Town is estimated at six thousand whites, and twelve thousand slaves. Instances of longevity are rare, few persons exceeding the age of sixty years.

In winter the thermometer in the town is from 50° at sun-rise to 60° at noon ; in the middle of summer from 70° to 90° ; but the general temperature is 83 or 84. It has been known to exceed a hundred. The heat of summer is seldom oppressive ; the mornings are sometimes sultry, but the nights are always cool. The south-east wind prevails from January to April, and blows at times with such violence that in twenty-four hours the best stocked gardens appear as if they had been dug over and swept. To preserve the plants, it is necessary to surround all the beds with close pallisades of young elms. The ordinary duration of this storm is three days.

Fuel is so scarce that a small cart-load of wood sells in the town at from twenty to twenty-eight shillings. In most families a slave is kept for the express purpose of collecting wood. He goes out in the morning, climbs the steep mountains at the back of the peninsula, and returns at night with two small bundles of faggots swinging at the ends of a bamboo cane, which he carries across his shoulders. Some families have two, and some three of these slaves.

The difference in the appearance and manners of the sons and daughters of the same family is

very striking, and I have observed something like it in the trading towns in England. The young men at the Cape are often clumsy in their shape, awkward in their carriage, and unsocial in their disposition. The young women are of a small, delicate form, easy in their manners, well dressed, and fond of social intercourse. They are under no restraint. It is not unusual for eight or ten unmarried ladies, and the same number of gentlemen, to mount their horses at break of day, and ride six or seven miles, to breakfast at one of the country houses ; then mount again, and ride on to dine at another, and conclude the evening with a dance. It is with great pleasure I add that the ladies do not abuse the liberty allowed them. I have always been of opinion that restraint is unfavourable to the morals of females, and that the "padlock should be clapped on the mind," rather than the person.

Before the company sits down to dinner, a glass of brandy, or of white wine, in which wormwood or aloes has been infused, is presented to each person. Brandy is still presented on such an occasion in the north of Yorkshire, where it is called a cheerer.

Torture was practised at the Cape before it was in the possession of the English, and breaking on the wheel was a capital punishment. When the British government had abolished these horrid customs, capital crimes decreased so much, that one executioner made application for a pension, and another hanged himself to keep him from starving.

The Table, the Devil, and the Lion mountains rise from the same base, and divide the seasons at

the Cape during the prevalence of the northerly winds. He who should then pursue his route on the eastern side of these mountains would carry his umbrella to shelter him from the rain ; while he who passed on the western would take his to defend him from the sun. The front of the Table mountain, facing the town, is a horizontal line of about two miles in length. The best access to the summit is through a deep chasm, about three quarters of a mile long. The perpendicular walls at the foot of this ravine are above a thousand feet high ; and about eighty yards distant from each other ; but they approach within a few feet at the top. The ascent is very steep ; the chasm is bold and romantic ; the summit is a dreary plain, and the view from it almost unbounded. The thermometer is about fifteen degrees lower here than in the town. The Lion mountain rises about 3,600 feet above the level of the sea ; it is therefore about the height of Snowdon.

Before I enter on my travels through the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, I shall give a general account of the country and its original inhabitants.

The colony extends from 520 to 580 miles from west to east, and from 160 to 315 from north to south. The first of these limits cannot be extended, as they are formed by the Atlantic and Indian oceans ; the latter are probably advancing while I write ; for the natives present a feeble barrier to the cupidity and enterprize of Europeans.

Two great chains of mountains run parallel with the western coast, having between them and the sea a sandy plain. From the innermost of these chains

branch off three others, which run from west to east, and form three terraces, each higher than the last, as we advance to the northward. The two southernmost of these chains form the vast ridges called the Zwaartbergen, or Black mountains, which run like a steep wall, and are broken only by the streams that pour through them. The southernmost ridge terminates at the western point of Kromme river bay; the northern at the western point of Zwaart Kops, or Algoa bay; the Lange Kloof, or Long pass, runs between them.

The level country between the southern ridge of mountains and the coast decreases in breadth as it runs to the eastward, till it ends at Kromme river bay. All the inlets on the southern coast resemble each other in figure. They have generally, on the western side, a projecting rock which is the termination of a range of hills; and these ranges, running in parallel directions, cut the coast into many pointed angles. Some of the creeks advance within a mile of the foot of the mountains. The easternmost part of this tract contains the vast forests of Sitsikamma, which man has hitherto left in the possession of its native elephants, rhinoceroses, and buffaloes, and pursues his journey to the eastward over the first range of mountains, and through the Lange Kloof.

Beyond the Zwaartbergen, and within the third range of mountains, are arid lands, known both to natives and colonists by the name of Karroo. In these are large spaces which are perfect plains, and others from which rise hills of slate. The soil throughout is a sand mixed with clay, or argillaceous earth, and contains everywhere, in greater or smaller quantity, particles of



iron. A foot below the surface lies a hard and impenetrable stone. Some succulent plants whose bulbs, like those of the liliaceous tribe, nature has fortified with a tenfold net of fibres under the upper rind, to enable them to resist the hardened clay; such alone contend with the destructive quality of the soil. When the rains penetrate this hard coat of earth, the fibres imbibe the moisture, and push aside the clay. The germ begins to shoot; the plants appear above the ground; and in a few days the arid waste is covered with a beautiful green clothing. The surface is soon enamelled with flowers; the young green is almost hidden, and the desert becomes a garden, exhaling the most fragrant odours.

The farmer now leaves his residence in mountains covered with snow, and forms a temporary habitation in the plain. His flocks and herds find a plentiful supply of food, which they share with the antelopes and ostriches, that, like them, are driven from the heights. But soon is the Karroo deprived of its glory; for, as the days lengthen, the power of the sun checks the vegetation: the flowers fall, the leaves die, and the hard coat of earth locks up the germs, till the rainy season return. The succulent plants, however, still furnish food for the cattle, till continued drought compel the farmer to return to his elevated home. By the end of September the Karroo is deserted. The hardened clay bursts into a thousand cracks, every trace of verdure has vanished, and the red soil is covered with a brown dust, formed by the ashes of the withered plants. These ashes are the manure that is to cherish the succeeding crop, and among them lie the seeds that are to produce it.

The third range of mountains that crosses Southern Africa is composed of the Hantam, the Roggeveldt, or Ryefield, the Niuewveldt, or Newfield, the Sneuwberg, or Snow-mountain, and the Bambosberg, or Bambos mountain. These form the third step; and beyond these is a still higher range called the Karree mountains.

The whole of Southern Africa has a regular declension from west to east, as well as from north to south. To the westward the country is sandy, barren, and thinly inhabited; to the eastward it increases in beauty and fertility.

When the Dutch planted this colony in 1650, they purchased of the Hottentots their stock of cattle, and a part of their country, with brandy, tobacco, iron, and a few paltry trinkets. A cask of brandy was the price of a whole district, and nine inches in length of an iron hoop that of a fat ox. What more they wanted they took by force.

The government granted lands on lease to the settlers, at the annual rent of something less than five pounds for each farm. The nearest distance from house to house was to be three miles; so that each farm consisted of more than five thousand acres of land. Thus the Dutch spread themselves over the country. As they advanced, the natives retired; those who remained among the colonists being soon under the necessity of becoming their servants.

The name of Hottentot may shortly be pronounced only in relation to the past; and the decay of these people will excite in the breast of future generations the same indignation against the Dutch, as the extermination of the natives of St. Domingo has done against the Spaniards.

There is not an instance of cruelty said to have been practised upon the slaves in the West Indies that could not find a parallel among the Dutch farmers, at a distance from the seat of government, to their servants. Instant death frequently follows punishment inflicted in a passion. In cold blood, the monsters are content with whipping and cutting, with tough and heavy thongs of leather, and flogging, not by number of lashes, but by time ; and as the farmer has neither watch nor clock to measure time, it is marked by his smoking as many pipes as he may think the fault deserves.

Though the Hottentots receive wages, they are little better than the slaves of the farmer. An ox, a couple of cows, or a dozen sheep, are the usual wages of a whole year. If an ox or a sheep be missing, the Hottentot must replace it ; and if no such accident occur, it frequently happens that a bill for tobacco or brandy is brought against him to the full amount. If he marry, he builds his straw hut near the farm-house ; his children are encouraged by the farmer to ask for food ; and if they receive a morsel of bread, they are his slaves till they are twenty-five. A Hottentot seldom knows when he is twenty-five ; and, if he chance to know it, he is turned adrift at that age, and at thirty he begins to grow old. Those who marry in this state of depression have seldom more than two or three children, and many of the women have none,

Such of the Hottentots as retain most of their original character are a mild and timid race ; harmless, honest, and faithful ; kind and affectionate to each other, and capable of forming

strong attachments. Though naturally fearful, they will face danger if led on by their superiors, and they suffer pain with patience. They are not deficient in talent, but they want exertion. My Hottentots would frequently pass the day without food, rather than walk half a mile for a sheep.

Hottentots are gluttonous while provisions are plentiful, and content with little when these are scarce. A Hottentot is capable of eating ten or twelve pounds of meat in one day ; but, on pressing occasions, a few locusts, a piece of honeycomb, or a piece of the leather of his sandals, will suffice him. I never could make these people comprehend that it was prudent to reserve a little food for the morrow. They not only eat as much as they can, but they distribute what is left to whomsoever they meet ; and their answer to my remonstrances respecting the future was, " We will hunt," or, " We will sleep." And it is very extraordinary that they often can command sleep. When this refuses to come at their bidding, they have another experiment not less remarkable ; they confine their stomachs with a leathern bandage, to appease their hunger.

When they have taken a large steak from an ox, they cut it spirally till they come to the centre, when it becomes a string two or three yards in length. The string then, still coiled round, is laid upon the ashes, and as soon as it is warmed through, the Hottentot, grasping it with both hands, applies one end of it to his mouth, and soon devours a yard of beef.

When the Hottentots drink from a stream, they take up the water in their hand, and throw it

into their mouth with a quick motion, seldom bringing the hand nearer the mouth than twelve inches.

The Hottentots are clean limbed, and well proportioned; their hands and feet are small; and they have no apparent muscle that indicates strength. Their cheek-bones are high, their chin is pointed, the nose is different in different tribes, in some flat, in others considerably raised. Their colour is a yellowish brown; their teeth are beautifully white; their hair grows in small tufts at a distance from each other; when kept short it has the appearance of a hard brush; when suffered to grow, it hangs on the neck in twisted tassels like fringe. Some of the young women might serve as models of perfection in the female figure.

The men wear a belt of skin, with a piece of leather before and behind. The thongs of dried skin which formerly encircled the legs of the women, and preserved them from injury, have now given place to beads, which are a useless ornament and soon destroyed. Fashion is a despot which seldom regards convenience, and women are more its slaves than men.

The neck, arms, and legs of a female Hottentot are loaded with beads; but the most splendid of these are reserved to embroider a small apron, which reaches from the waist to the middle of the thigh. A sheep skin cloak and a cap of skin complete the dress.

The Hottentots possess the faculty of sight in an exquisite degree. They will watch a bee to its nest; and, upon the hardest ground, on which the elephant leaves no traces perceptible to

a common eye, amidst withered leaves, scattered and driven by the wind, the Hottentot can distinguish the print of this animal's foot, and sees the path it has taken. The manner in which a branch is broken is to him a certain indication.

The Hottentots have no other mode of measuring time than by lunar months and days ; and if a Hottentot be asked the distance to a certain place, he either makes no answer, or points to a particular spot in the heavens, and says, " The sun will be there when you get to it."

Hottentots use means to defend themselves from the powerful rays of the sun ; but it appears to them of no consequence to be sheltered from the rain.

Hottentot is a word that has no place in the language of the original inhabitants of this country, and they take it to themselves under the idea of its being a Dutch word. When they were spread over Southern Africa, each tribe had its particular name ; but that by which the whole people was, and is still, distinguished is, Quaiqua.

The issue of a white man and a Hottentot woman is called a Bastaard. These people are a different race from that of their mother. The men are six feet high, and stout in proportion ; the women well made and active.

The number of white inhabitants in the colony, exclusive of those in Cape Town, is about 15,000, and the Hottentots remaining in the whole colony may amount to the same number.

## CHAPTER IV.

### CAPE TOWN TO THE GREAT FISH RIVER.

**T**HE mode of travelling in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope is with waggons drawn by oxen; Bastards are the drivers, and Hottentots lead the foremost pair in the team. The speed of the oxen, where the country is level and the surface hard, is full three miles an hour, at which rate they will go three or four hours without halting. The day's journey is from five to fifteen hours.

I left Cape Town with two waggons, having ten oxen in each, and proceeded to the eastward. I visited the farm of Constantia, so celebrated for its wine. It is remarkable that an exact line may be drawn, beyond which this precious beverage cannot be produced; and it is said that it would be to the advantage of the proprietor to take down his house and domestic buildings, which stand within the line of demarcation, and plant the space with vines. At the distance of thirty-six miles I arrived at Hottentot's Holland's Kloof, a pass in the longitudinal range of mountains which opens into a fine country inclosed between the southern range of the Zwaartberg and the sea.

Looking back from the portal of the Kloof, we had a grand view of the Cape peninsula, the sweeping shores of Table and False bays, and the intermediate sand, enlivened by a few neat farm-houses scattered at the foot of the mountains.

In Zoete Melk valley, we halted at a place called

Bavian's or Baboon's Kloof, where there is an establishment of Moravian missionaries. We found the brethren men of middle age, plain and decent in their dress, cleanly in their persons, of modest manners, and meek deportment ; and, though zealous in the cause of their mission, free from bigotry and enthusiasm. According to the rules of their society, each had learned some useful occupation ; one was a smith, another a tailor, another a shoe-maker.

The missionaries had brought together upwards of a thousand Hottentots. Two hundred huts and houses, built in regular rows, with each a garden annexed to it, gave the place the appearance of an European village. Those Hottentots who chose to learn the respective trades of the missionaries, were paid for their labour as soon as they could earn wages ; others hired themselves as labourers to the Dutch farmers, made mats and brooms, bred poultry, or subsisted by means of their cattle, sheep, and horses.

I attended the church-service of the missionaries. About half the congregation were clothed in coarse printed cottons, the others in their ancient sheep-skins ; the behaviour of all was devout. The discourse of the preacher was short, but pathetic, replete with good sense, and well suited to the occasion. Tears flowed abundantly from the eyes of those to whom it was particularly addressed. May priestly pride and thirst of power, in whatever church or sect they may be found, learn primitive Christianity from the brethren of the Zoete Melk valley.

The district of Zwellendam comprises the country between the first range of mountains and the sea, and extends to the eastward as far as the



Camtoos river. It contained between five and six hundred families, consisting of about 3,000 white people. The number of Hottentots did not exceed two to a family, and the number of negroes was about five.

The village of the Drosdy of Zwellendam is composed of about twenty houses. It is situated in a fertile valley, through which runs a perpetual stream of water. The habitation of the landdrost stands at the head of the valley, and is surrounded by plantations of oaks.

In the year 1773, a Dutch farmer was living a little to the westward of Zwellendam, who remembered the time when the Hottentots were numerous, and the Christian settlers few; when it was dangerous for the latter to venture eastward, even so far as this place. Elephants at this time abounded so much near the Cape, that in his journeys from his habitation thither the farmer had frequently shot four or five in a day, and sometimes twelve or thirteen. A good sportsman takes his aim so as that the ball shall pass through the elephant's lungs, and kills him at one shot. The ball is one third tin, and weighs a quarter of a pound.

Butter is here churned in a vessel that will contain between one and two hogsheads; and the churn-staff is raised and wrought by two, and sometimes four people, in the same way as the handle of a pump. Those farmers who have a tolerable share of ground, make from 1,800 to 3,500 pounds of butter in a year. This is carried in one or two journeys to the Cape, where it is sold to dealers, who afterwards sell a great part of it to the ships that anchor there. The buttermilk is thrown away, and flows in rivulets.

We now crossed the Gauritz river, the western limit of Muscle bay. This river may be called the sink of the colony. All the waters that have their origin within a hundred and fifty miles to the eastward; within the same distance to the westward; upon the Great Karroo, and in the intermediate mountains to the northward; meet in one immense chasm of the mountains here, and form the Gauritz river. The sudden and violent inundations of this river are almost beyond credibility. The ruins of a house which was destroyed by it are still to be seen, situated nearly a hundred feet above its channel.

Muscle Bay lies in latitude  $34^{\circ} 10'$  south, and longitude  $22^{\circ} 18'$  east, and is about 240 miles from the Cape. It affords excellent fish, particularly muscles and oysters. The place abounds with wood and water, and the scenery is majestic. The ground is good for either corn or pasture; it affords clay for making bricks, and the shore affords lime for cementing them. Under the British government a drosdy had been established here.

In the year 1772, a farmer dwelt in the Aute-niquas land which we now entered, who had fifty Hottentots in his service, and buffaloes were shot by one of these in such numbers as to supply the whole family with meat. Every time he went to hunt, the balls were counted out to him, and he was obliged to furnish the same number of dead buffaloes.

From hence we crossed the Cayman's or Crocodile's river, which was most difficult for wag-gons, the banks, on either side, being several hundred feet high, and steep and rocky; and arrived at Plettenberg's bay. Here commences the im-

penetrable forest of Sitsikamma. Plettenberg's bay lies in latitude  $34^{\circ} 6'$  south, and longitude  $23^{\circ} 48'$  east. The distance from Cape Point is 320 English miles.

In 1804 one of the farmers of Lange Kloof hunting in Sitsikamma, killed a male elephant fourteen feet high. The tusks weighed nearly a hundred and a half, and sold at Cape Town for 200 dollars. The farmer asserted, that, some years before, elephants had been taken here that were eighteen feet in height ; and I was afterwards assured by experienced hunters beyond the country of the Caffers, that this was not an exaggeration. A farmer of the Lange Kloof spoke highly of the affection of the elephant for its young, and affirmed that he had himself seen a female elephant take up her wounded calf between her teeth, and carry it away.

From Plettenberg's bay to the Duyvil's Kop, or Devil's Head, over which lies the road into the Lange Kloof, the whole country is beyond comparison the grandest and most beautiful part of the colony. The farm-houses are in a better style than is usual at such a distance from the capital ; they are white-washed, and to almost every one is attached a small inclosure, with ornamented walls, as a burying-place for the family. The Dutch have no service, or ceremony, at the interment of the dead.

At six o'clock in the morning we entered a wood of a most venerable appearance. I continued for some time admiring the immense size of this and that tree, when an object presented itself that engrossed all my attention. This was a long, rocky, and steep ascent. The first waggon, though 26 oxen were yoked to it, was two hours

before it reached the summit; and the second, with the same oxen, was three.

On arriving at the top of this rocky ascent we felt like people at sea after weathering a storm; but our task was not yet finished; for, after travelling on high ground, we came to the base of a mountain whose top was hidden in the clouds, over which it seemed we were to pass. We halted to prepare the oxen for the toilsome undertaking.

At three in the afternoon we began to ascend the mountain, and at five we reached the bottom of a long and steep declivity. We had now a still higher mountain to get over, and, to lessen the labour of the following day, we scrambled about a quarter of a mile up its side, and then halted for the night.

On the following morning, after three hours and a half of hard labour, we reached the summit of the Duyvil's Kop. The remains of two wag-gons were seen at the bottom of a precipice. The prospect behind us was highly interesting; but neither man nor beast appeared to enliven it. The peak was not more than fifteen yards wide, and the descent at first was by a flight of rocky stairs. At the bottom we entered Lange Kloof, and halted for the night in a spot where the hills on each side nearly met.

Lange Kloof is a narrow valley, in few places exceeding a mile in breadth, between the high, unbroken, southern range of the Zwaartberg, and a parallel range of green hills belonging to the Zwaartberg on the north. It stretches nearly east and west, and well deserves the epithet *Long*; for it is about a hundred and fifty miles in length. It abounds with streams of water and good pas-

turage. The soil is rich, and most of the habitations have gardens, vineyards, and orchards. Being considerably elevated above the level of the sea, and situated in the midst of mountains, snow frequently falls here in the winter months, and lies upon the ground some time. Between the two extremities of Lange Kloof there is only one passage for waggons over the southern chain of mountains, the formidable passage of the Duyvil's Kop.

In the morning of the second day of our travelling through Lange Kloof, I sent one of my Hottentots back in search of an ox that had fallen behind in the night. He did not return till nine o'clock in the evening, when he brought with him the strayed animal. This would have afforded a subject for conversation among English rustics ; but my Hottentot, though he had walked about twenty-four miles, and had tasted nothing but water, sat down carelessly by the fire, and had no tale to tell. Nor did the other Hottentots ask him one question ; they knew that the ox was found, and that John was there, and with this they were satisfied.

On the following day a neighbouring farmer made me a visit, and sent me some grapes and some milk. He offered me a cheese, and asked for a bottle of wine. He sent his own bottle for the latter, and it was well for him he did so ; for it contained twice as much as mine.

In the Lange Kloof flows a river called, and justly called, the Kromme, or Crooked river. It formed so many turns and windings that we found it continually in our way, and we crossed it ten times. It increased considerably as we descended.

the two chains of mountains approached so near as to leave only a marshy hollow ; and, at the farther end, a long, steep, and rocky descent, brought us into a country of a beautiful appearance.

We crossed several rivers, one of which was the Camtoos, which is wide and deep, and travellers are sometimes detained a week by its rise. We halted on a charming plain, only a few hundred yards in circumference, surrounded by hills and shrubbery. A female Hottentot, with her two children here joined my company. When I asked this woman the age of her children, she seemed as much surprised as if I had asked the number of hairs on their heads. I then enquired how many times the sun had come near since the birth of the eldest. She believed three times, which was confirmed by the appearance of the child.

At six o'clock in the evening we had a view of the ocean. At seven we came to a descent so steep that the hinder wheels of the waggons were frequently raised from the ground. The following day we arrived at Algoa, or Zwaart Kops bay.

Zwaart Kops bay lies in latitude  $33^{\circ} 56'$  south, and longitude  $26^{\circ} 53'$  east. The distance from the Cape in a direct line is 500 miles. The breadth of the bay is about twenty miles ; the rivers that fall into it are the Zwaart Kops, the Kooka, and the Sondag.

The neighbourhood abounds with the finest forest, and the coast is covered with brushwood to the water's edge ; yet the dwellings of the farmers are miserable hovels. Four low mud walls with two square holes to admit the light, a roof of crooked poles thatched with rushes, and a door of wicker work, form the habitation of many

a grazier who owns several thousand sheep, and several hundred head of cattle. The farmers here reap from twenty-five to forty grains of wheat for one, without manuring the land. There are places near every house, fenced round with dead thorns, in which the cattle are kept at night to secure them from beasts of prey; and in these I have seen their dung lying twelve feet deep, it being less trouble to leave it where it falls than to lay it on the cultivated ground. The Dutch call these inclosures kraals. This word signifies a necklace of beads, and was probably applied by the Dutch to the villages of the Hottentots, from the form of the huts, and the circular manner in which they were placed. As the inner part of this circle was the nightly inclosure for the cattle, the name was transferred to other inclosures for the same purpose.

The vale through which the Zwaart Kops river runs is about twenty miles in length, and two in breadth, and is wholly occupied by four families.

From Zwaart Kops bay I proceeded to the eastward, and having crossed the Sondag or Sunday river, I passed over a wild, uninhabited part of the country, covered with shrubs, through which was cut a road just wide enough to admit a waggon. Near the Hassagay bosch river stood the second habitation we had seen from Zwaart Kops bay, and I was told there was no other to the eastward. This district is called the Zuure Veldt (Sour Field).

Having crossed the Hassagay bosch river, we approached some stations of Caffers, and I pitched my tent among some hundreds of them, who came swarming out of the thicket that skirted the river. A party of women advanced, laughing and dancing

round the waggons, and coaxing us to give them brass buttons and tobacco. They were mostly of a low stature and strong limbed; their countenances animated and good humoured; and their manners sportive, but modest.

The men were the finest figures I ever beheld, tall, robust, and muscular. One of them, a young man about twenty years of age, might have served for a model of Hercules. They had a firmness of carriage, an openness of manner, and a look of good humour, that pronounced them equally free from fear, suspicion, and cruelty.

Towards the setting of the sun, a kind of whistle from the Caffers brought in vast herds of cattle from every quarter. At another whistle the cows separated themselves from the rest, and came forward to be milked; and in the morning a third signal sent them all out to graze.

In the morning I was visited by a Caffer chief, a strong muscular man above six feet high. This chief was followed by three others; and I understood that they had passed the Great Fish river, the boundary between their country and the colony, without the permission of their king. When they found that I intended to visit this sovereign, they intreated me to intercede for them, and promised that, on a messenger of peace being sent to them, they would return. Such a messenger is known by his laying his hassagay on the ground, at the distance of two hundred paces from those to whom he is sent, and advancing with extended arms.

The chiefs were distinguished by a slender brass chain, suspended from the left side of a wreath of small polished copper beads, that encircled the head. The rest of their dress was the



same as that of the other Caffers who were dressed at all ; a long cloak of calves-skin, well dressed, and pliant, broad rings of ivory, cut out of the solid tusks of the elephant, above the elbow ; rings of copper and iron on the wrists and ancles, and glass beads round the neck.

The huts of these people were temporary abodes, formed of living twigs in the thicket, bent and interwoven with each other, and covered with branches and long grass. Not one was visible till we entered the shrubbery.

On the following day we skirted the banks of the Kareeko towards the sea-shore, passing multitudes of Caffers and their herds. I believe we did not see fewer this day than 5,000 head of cattle. Among these were oxen of remarkable size and strength, and cows of great beauty. The horns of the oxen were twisted into a variety of forms. The points of some met under the neck ; those of others projected horizontally on each side of the head ; some had one horn raised up perpendicularly, and the other pointing to the earth ; and others were turned towards the tail. Some oxen had large circular pieces cut out of the dewlap ; others had it cut into strings.

The love of ornament produces strange vagaries. In many countries man punctures his skin ; in some woman perforates her nose ; and in our's her ears. Man has formerly added the hair of other men to his own ; has loaded them both with the flour that should have made his pancakes, and the lard that should have fried them, has tied the mass so as to imitate the tail of a quadruped, and suffered it to hang down his back. Can we then wonder that he should desire to improve his oxen ?

The inverted horns, and fringed and scalloped dewlaps of these animals, gave me some uneasiness, as I imagined that these improvements could not have been made without inflicting pain; but a little reflection convinced me that it was friendship on the part of the Caffers; and that if they had not regarded the oxen with kindness, they would not have taken the trouble to ornament their persons.

I had quitted the common track at the Hassagay bosch river, for the purpose of seeing the Caffers, and I had travelled over the grassy plains of the Zuure Veldt with little difficulty; but we had now to cross the river Kowie, and to descend to it by a steep precipice, strewn over with fragments of rock, and in some places covered with brushwood through which we had to cut our way. Waggon's are bad travellers on such a road; but in two hours, with the assistance of care and patience, we left it behind us, and passed along a narrow defile, sometimes hemmed in by woods which crept up the sides of the mountains, at others, by walls of naked rock. The sufferings of my oxen had been great in the descent: I spare myself the recital of those they endured in mounting the opposite hill, and the means that were employed to compel them to perform that labour.

Being now only five days' journey from the residence of the Caffer king, I sent to ask his permission to pay my respects to him.

On the following day, observing near the coast a long train of fires, and supposing them to proceed from a party of Caffers, we turned out of our way, and made towards them. The smoke advanced; the wind increased; and we found our-

selves in a blaze of burning grass. The smoke was suffocating ; the flames rose up on each side of the waggons ; the feet of the oxen were burnt, and they became unmanageable, and galloped off. Either by sagacity or chance, however, they had set their heads against the wind, and they soon got through the danger. The flames ran along the dry grass with incredible celerity, and the face of the country, for several miles, was a sheet of fire. We passed over a considerable extent of ground among black ashes, and soon after reached the mouth of the Great Fish river. The banks descended with a fine smooth slope from the elevated plains on either side, and were covered with grass to the water's edge.

The mouth of the Great Fish river is in latitude  $33^{\circ} 25'$  south, and in longitude  $27^{\circ} 37'$  east. The distance from the Cape is about six hundred miles.

Numbers of hippopotami appeared with their heads above the water ; and being desirous of having a nearer view of this animal, I set out the next morning to hunt. We soon discovered the recent track of a hippopotamus, and followed it to the place where it had entered the water. It quickly appeared, but it had reached the opposite shore. Two of my Hottentots swam over, to force it nearer to us ; but it plunged so often and so quickly, that it was never in the spot we expected it, and we fired thirty shots without touching it. At length a shot was so well directed that the hippopotamus received it. It immediately dived, and soon after appeared with the greater part of its body, which was agitated by a convulsive motion, out of the water. I fired, and lodged

my ball in its breast. It plunged again, and did not appear till the expiration of twenty-seven minutes, when it floated, dead, on the surface of the water. Some of my Hottentots then swam to it, and pushed it to the bank.

I do not love to be the minister of death wantonly ; and with regard to myself, as I was excited by curiosity, not by hunger, I think the hippopotamus had as good a right to live as I. With my Hottentots the case was different ; to them the hippopotamus was a feast. I saw them broil steaks two or three feet in length, and a foot in breadth. They melted the fat, and drank it from basons as if it had been broth ; and having satiated their appetites, they rubbed it on their skins, till they looked as if they had been varnished.

From the muzzle to the root of the tail, the hippopotamus was ten feet seven inches, and the body was eight feet eleven inches in circumference. It was a female, and its teeth were only five inches long, and one inch in diameter in the thickest part.

I found here three different kinds of the bird called indicator, on account of its indicating where honey may be found. Having discovered a nest, it attracts the notice of some individual by a particular cry, which the Hottentots well understand, and then hopping from branch to branch, or from ant-hill to ant-hill, it leads the way to the prize. When the bird arrives at the honey, it stops, and the cry ceases ; the treasure is plundered, and the discoverer feasts upon the remains. The skin of this bird is so thick that it can scarcely be penetrated by a pin ; a shield given it by providence to protect it from the weapons of the insects on the produce of whose industry it subsists.

All the chasms that intersect this part of the country, all the sides of the knolls and banks of the rivers, are covered with wood. Among this was the euphorbia, throwing out a number of naked arms from a straight trunk thirty or forty feet high ; the Caffer's bean tree, with large clusters of red flowers resembling branches of red coral ; the Hottentot's bean, with bunches of scarlet flowers intermingled with its dark green foliage. Touracoes, perroquets, and other beautiful birds were fluttering about the trees, and the plains were besprinkled with elegant flowers. The touraco is the finest of all birds. Its colour is a bright grass green ; its head is crowned with a tuft of the same colour bordered with white ; its wings are of a most beautiful purple ; its form and its motions are elegant.

Having skirted the banks of the Great Fish river, we came to the first ford. The following day we passed the river, though not without difficulty, the banks being high and steep, the stream rapid, the water deep, and the bottom rocky. We now entered the country of the Caffers.

## CHAPTER V.

## COUNTRY OF THE CAFFERS.

**T**HOUGH no part of the colony that I had seen could be compared with that I passed through during the two first days I travelled in Cafferland, which is comprehended between the Great Fish river and the river Keiskamma ; though we passed several villages composed of neat huts, we saw not a human being. At this river I met the messenger I had sent to the king, accompanied by a chief who was dispatched to invite and attend me to his residence.

The Keiskamma is a large river ; and leaving my waggons behind me, I crossed it, and proceeded on horseback. The village where the king now resided was only fifteen miles distant ; but the hills were covered with thick underwood, and on the plains were so many scattered acacia trees, just distant enough for their thorny branches to meet and annoy the traveller, that we were continually obliged to quit the road, which was never more than a foot path. We passed a number of villages, containing from ten to thirty huts each ; some deserted ; others very populous. A crowd of people, men and women, flocked down on every side and followed us.

On arriving at the king's residence, we found that, not expecting us so soon, he had gone to his grazing village, ten or twelve miles to the north-

ward. It was not long, however, before he made his appearance, riding on an ox in full gallop, and attended by five or six of his people.

Gaika, king of the Caffers, was a young man, five feet ten inches high. His form was elegant, his eyes animated, his teeth beautiful, his countenance open, and his deportment graceful and manly. He seemed to possess a clear head and a solid understanding. To every question I asked relating to the manners and customs of his people his answers were unequivocal and unreserved. Like the chiefs I had seen in the colony, Gaika wore a brass chain suspended from a wreath of copper. He had on his arm five large rings cut out of the solid tusk of the elephant, and his cloak was faced with the skins of leopards; but he threw his dress aside, and, like his people, appeared intirely naked.

Gaika had but one wife, a very pretty Caffer girl of fifteen, who had brought him a daughter. His mother was a well-looking woman; and both were lively and good humoured.

The mother of Gaika was a princess of Tamboookie, and she had procured for her son the sovereignty of that kingdom in addition to his former dominions. The government was now administered by a viceroy appointed by him. Gaika always treated his mother with the most profound respect, and even now she exercised a kind of authority over him. An injury had been done to a woman of distinction, but she was not able to point out the offender, and a number of persons were summoned to appear before the king. As soon as the queen mother heard the nature of the complaint, she commanded her son to stand forth in the midst of the circle, as he, with the others,

was upon the spot where the affair happened ; and seating herself in his place, she required him to take an oath that he was innocent. She then resigned his place to him, and permitted him to proceed with the investigation. Gaika highly commended the wisdom displayed by his mother.

I informed the king that the emigrant chiefs had manifested a desire to return to their country. He said that they were chiefs, as well as himself, and independent of him, though his ancestors had always held the first rank ; that all the chiefs and people who had at any time chosen to place themselves under the protection of his family, had been kindly received, and those who chose to remain independent had been permitted to do so, without being considered as enemies. He also said that the people of the seceding chiefs had committed great depredations on the cattle of his subjects ; and that when he sent, in a civil manner, to enquire if any, by chance, had strayed into their territories, he found, to his great surprise, that they had quitted the country. He added that he had more than once sent them proffers of friendship ; but that they had detained, and, as he supposed, put to death his messengers ; and still, that he might afford them no pretence for commencing hostilities, he had strictly forbidden any of his subjects to pass the Keiskamma.

Who would have sought for justice and moderation at a king of the Caffers ? yet, among all the potentates of the civilized world, with whom could they have been found in greater perfection ! The respective merits of the Caffers and the Dutch farmers will appear from the following facts.

A vessel was wrecked on the coast between the



Bosjesman and the Sondag rivers. The farmers from Lange Kloof to the Great Fish River, flocked to the wreck for plunder; and the only man who was anxious to secure some property for the captain and officers had his brains dashed out, with an iron bolt, by one of his neighbours.

A ship was stranded on the coast of Cafferland, between the mouths of the Keiskamma and the Beeka. The crew got on shore, and were immediately surrounded by Caffers. Instead of being eaten by the savages, as they might probably have expected, an ox was given them to eat. Their metal buttons only were detained; their persons, and the rest of their property, were conveyed to the nearest habitations of the colony; where the sum of nineteen shillings and sixpence for the captain, and the same sum for the whole crew, consisting of about sixty persons, was demanded by the Caffers for their trouble.

My present to the Caffer king consisted of brass wire, sheets of copper, knives, glass beads, and looking-glasses; and I presented articles of the same kind to his mother. I was sorry I had not substituted buttons for looking-glasses; believing that a woman, and even a man, might take a greater pleasure in displaying finery to others, than in surveying it on her, or his, own person.

The village at which the king now lived was a temporary residence, consisting of about forty or fifty huts.

The Caffers, as they are called, are taller, stronger, and have limbs better proportioned than the other natives of Africa. They have the high forehead and prominent nose of Europeans, the thick lips of Negroes, and the high cheek bones of Hottentots. Their colour is brown; but they rub

themselves with grease, mixed with some mineral substance, such as iron ochre, iron rust, or mica, which gives it the appearance of bronze. Their beards are black, and much fuller than those of the Hottentots. But Caffer is a word not one of these people could pronounce. It is the Arabic term for infidel, or unbeliever, and was probably given them by the Arabs. They call themselves Koussie. Their language is full-toned, soft, and harmonious; their pronunciation slow and distinct.

A few persons of both sexes are tattooed on the breast, back, and arms. The men wear a strip of white leather, ornamented with beads or thin plates of copper, round the head, with a knot of zebra's, or jackal's hair standing upright. The head-dress of the women is a piece of fine thin leather about two ells long, and in the middle half an ell wide, the ends finishing in a point. This is either wrapped round the head like a turban, or sewed to a cap, from which the ends hang down on each side. In the centre is always placed a tuft of beads, or of strips of leather ornamented with small bits of copper. Necklaces, of beads, little red stones, muscle-shells, small chains of metal, and even bits of wood, are worn both by men and women, and hang down to the breast. The fashionable beads at present were a small sort, procured from the Hambonaas, who probably got them from the Portuguese on the eastern coast. These were so highly esteemed that a cow and calf were given for two strings. The Koussas believe that these beads spring out of the earth like worms, and are caught by the Hambonaas. Strings of beads, five or six inches in length, are also worn in the ear, as are buttons and rings of copper.

Bracelets of solid ivory, cut out of the tusk of the elephant, are worn by the men on the upper part of the left arm, sometimes to the number of ten.. These are the gift of the king, and are a token of favour. Copper and iron bracelets are worn below the elbow. A leathern girdle is worn round the waist ; but it is so covered with plates of copper or iron that the leather cannot be seen. Females wear from their birth an apron of leather ; and sometimes several of these aprons, of different sizes, are worn one over another, the outermost of which is richly ornamented with buttons and beads. Rings of copper and iron wire are worn on the fingers, and even on the great toe. The men generally fasten to one knee a large bunch of the lion's mane or tail, or the hair of a quaka, which hangs down nearly to the ankle. Their calves'-skin cloaks are long ; the skins are neatly dressed, and sewed together with a bodkin of polished iron, and a thread made of the tendons of animals. A girl must earn her first mantle by going out on a hunting party, when she receives from her brothers the skin of an antelope.

A Koussa is never seen to sneeze, yawn, cough, or hawk.

The huts of the Koussas are in the form of a hemisphere, from eight to nine feet in diameter, and are seldom sufficiently lofty to allow a man to stand upright in them. The skeleton is composed of slender poles, stuck into the ground in a circle, at the distance of about a foot from each other, and united together in the centre. The spaces between the poles are filled up with faggots, and plastered with clay and cow-dung ; the upper part is thatched with rushes. The floor of the hut is a

kind of plaster made of the white ant heaps, beaten very smooth and hard. It is kept exceedingly clean, and is often renewed. The Caffers inhabiting the interior of the country, who do not so often change their habitations, build their huts stronger, and have frequently two, connected by a low passage. They sleep on rush mats, and are covered with their mantles. To express a married man they often say, "He lies under two mantles." The Caffers sleep stretched out at full length; the Hottentots draw themselves up like a ball.

Young women are the property of their parents, and are always disposed of by sale; the consent of the animal bartered follows of course. . Polygamy is allowed; but, as wives are an article of purchase, few men, except the chiefs, can afford more than one. From the Tambookies, a Caffer nation to the east, the Koussas procure iron and young women, in exchange for cattle: of the former they make ornaments and hassagays; of the latter wives; but as Tambookie wives are a dearer article than those of their own nation, few, except the chiefs, can attain them.

When a young man wishes to marry, he brings a certain number of cows to the parents of the young woman of his choice; and if they are not satisfied, he brings another and another cow till they are so. The number seldom exceeds ten, unless the suitor be extremely rich, or the lady uncommonly handsome. When the cattle are accepted, a feast is made, which lasts four days. On the fourth of these, the bride, being new dyed and ornamented by her companions, is led by two of them before the chief, who declares his formal assent to the marriage. The woman gives her solemn assurance that she will be a faithful and in-

dustrious wife, and that her husband shall never have any cause to complain of her. When she retires, the bridegroom appears, and gives equal assurance that he will be hospitable in the entertainment of his guests, and punctual in the payment of his tribute to the king, and his representative, the chief. In the man's part of the contract, no notice seems to be taken of the bride; he merely takes an oath of allegiance in his new character of the master of a family. The bridegroom then returns to the company, and his relations present a basket of milk to the bride, reminding her that it is from the cows of the bridegroom, or his family. Of this milk she is not to taste till now; and, having drank it, the union is indissoluble, all the people dancing, and unanimously shouting, "she drinks the milk!" "she has drank the milk!"

Till the birth of the first child, the parents of the wife must not make use of the milk from the cows they received as her price; and if she die without children, the cows must be returned.

Children crawl about, naked, as soon as they are able to crawl, and at six or seven months old they can run. A cripple, or a deformed person, is never seen. The Dutch imagine that all imperfect children are strangled immediately after their birth; but Gaika's mother heard the suggestion with horror, and assured me that a woman who could suffer such a crime to be committed would be driven from the society of the rest.

When there is more than one wife, each has generally a separate habitation. There are, however, many instances where a man has no more than two wives, of their all living together in the

utmost harmony, the wives sharing equally the household work, and, in case of sickness, nursing each other. If any misunderstanding should arise between them, the second wife must leave the house, and build a separate hut for herself; the husband would live in peace with both, and reside with each occasionally.

A husband may, without disgrace, contract an intimacy with either an unmarried woman or a widow; but if a wife be detected in the breach of her marriage vow, he may put the seducer to death upon the spot. This, however, he seldom does, considering it more advantageous to bring the affair before the chief, and share with him the fine imposed upon the offender. A young woman who violates her chastity has not much shame to apprehend. If she cannot be married to her seducer, he pays a fine of cattle to her parents, and the circumstance is no obstacle to her marriage with another. Notwithstanding this, the Koussa women are modest and decent. Their clothing covers the whole person, except the face, arms, and feet; they carefully avoid every unnecessary exposure in suckling their children, and in wading through rivers, and they never appear before strangers with their heads uncovered. Women do not mix in public business; but they have almost the sole direction of domestic affairs; and even in disposing of their common property, the husband frequently recedes from a bargain because his wife refuses to consent. A man never mingles in the quarrels of his wife while they are confined to words; if blows ensue, he steps forwards immediately as her protector and defender.

When a father is unable, on account of age, to

conduct his own affairs, he gives up the whole of his property to his sons, and experiences the greatest care and kindness from them during the remainder of his life. There have been instances in which a want of filial duty has been punished with infamy and banishment. All persons advanced in years have particular respect paid them; and if they become sick, or helpless, every one is eager to afford them assistance.

When a sick man draws near his end, he is carried to some solitary spot, under the shade of a tree, and attended only by his nearest relations. When it is evident that he must die, he is left by all but his wife; or, if the dying person be a woman, she is left by all but her husband. The relations stand at a distance, and the remaining attendant shouts, from time to time, the state of the dying person, and at last announces the death; they then return home and purify themselves. The wife leaves the body to become a prey to the hyena, and taking a firebrand from the fire that had been kindled near the dying man, she goes to some other solitary place, where she makes a fire. In the night she goes secretly to the hut in which she had lived with her husband, and burns it. She then returns to her solitude, where she remains alone, living upon roots and berries. When the month of her uncleanness is expired, she throws away her garments, washes herself, scratches her breast, arms, and thighs with sharp stones, girds her body round with rushes twisted together, and at sun-set returns to the village. At her desire, a firebrand is brought to the place lately occupied by her hut, where she makes a fire. At the same time she is served with fresh milk to rinse

her mouth, and, having rinsed it, she becomes clean. But the unfortunate cow that furnished this purifying liquid becomes, in consequence, unclean : she is milked no more, is neglected, and dies. The day after this purification an ox is killed by the relations of the widow, who eat the flesh with her, and give her the skin to make her a new mantle. With the assistance of her sisters and sisters-in-law she builds herself a new hut, and enters again into social life.

A widower observes nearly the same ceremonies, except that his seclusion lasts only half the time. A mother who has lost her child is unclean for two days. All persons attending at the death of another, all persons returning from battle, are unclean ; and every person in this state is prohibited from any intercourse with another. At the end of the appointed time, he is washed, fresh dyed, and his mouth rinsed with milk ; and he is then clean.

If death seize an adult so suddenly that he cannot be removed, the whole village becomes impure, and is abandoned by its inhabitants, the corpse being left undisturbed in the hut. If a child die suddenly, the hut alone becomes impure, and it is closed up and forsaken.

The chiefs and their wives, only, are buried, and they are deposited in their cattle-folds. The widow of a deceased chief burns all the household utensils that she and her husband had used together ; the place is abandoned by all its inhabitants, and never built on more.

If a lion appear in the neighbourhood of a village, he is surrounded, and inclosed within a narrow circle, where he is harrassed by hassagays till



he spring out of his covert, and attack one of the hunters. The man falls on the ground, covering himself with his shield, when the rest attack the lion, and dispatch him with their spears. This is not always achieved without some of them being wounded, or even killed. The first who receives a wound is regarded as a hero. He is carried to the village on the shields of his companions, and held up to the view of the people. One of the hunters steps forward, with strange gestures, and makes a speech in praise of the wounded man; the others remain a little behind, singing a sort of hymn, and striking their shields with their keeries. During this time a small hut is raised, at some distance from the other dwellings, in which the hero is shut up for four days. He is then purified from blood in the manner above-mentioned, brought into the village with great solemnity, and his companions eat with him, as a proof that he is clean.

If an elephant be killed after a chase, the Kous-sas endeavour to exculpate themselves towards the dead animal by declaring to him that his death happened by accident, not by design. The trunk is cut off, and solemnly interred, by way of atonement, the assistants saying repeatedly, "the elephant is a great lord, and the trunk is his hand."

Premeditated murder is punished with instant death. If a man kill another in a quarrel, or by accident, he makes a compensation to the relations of the deceased. A chief has no power over the lives of his people: were he to put one of them to death, he would run the hazard of being expelled by the rest.

The Koussa Caffers are very fond of their cat-

tle. They perfectly know every one of these animals, its disposition and qualities; and it is not without reluctance that they either kill them, or part with them. They make butter by shaking the milk in leathern pouches; but they use it only for smearing their persons.

No one possesses landed property; but each sows his corn wherever he can find a convenient spot. The millet is deposited in pits in the cattle-fold, which are carefully covered. When one of these stores is opened, the owner must give each of his neighbours and friends a little basket full of the grain, and to the chief of the village a larger portion. The millet is eaten with milk, or made into a sort of bread baked on the embers. A fermented liquor is also made from it. Cattle are only killed on great occasions, one of which is the entertainment of strangers; and one of the duties of hospitality to a stranger is to offer him a female companion for the night.

The Koussas have no knowledge of smelting iron from the ore, but when it comes into their hands in a malleable state, they shape it to their purpose with wonderful dexterity. Every man is his own artizan, and, with one piece of stone for an anvil, and another for a hammer, he will finish a lance, a chain, or a bead, that would not disgrace the ingenious manufacturers of the town of Birmingham.

In their wars with each other, all the vassal chiefs are summoned to assemble, with their followers, at the habitation of the king. When the army is collected, a number of oxen are killed, that the warriors may become strong, by eating their flesh. The king presents the most valiant of the

chiefs with plumes of feathers from the wings of a sort of crane : these are worn on the head as ensigns of authority ; and if one of these commanders were not seen at the head of his division, or if one of his followers deserted his leader, during the fight, his life would be forfeited.

The army is now in motion, taking with it as many oxen as may be deemed necessary for its support. When it approaches the habitation of the enemy, notice is given of the intended attack ; and if the enemy declare that he has not yet collected his people, and therefore is not prepared to fight, the attacking army waits till notice is received that he is ready. The two armies then, raising a loud war-cry, approach each other, and the battle begins.

In these fights among the Koussas the number of slain is not so great as might be imagined. The wound of the hassagay is seldom mortal. An unarmed enemy is never put to death, and women and children are invariably spared.

If it were not for my prejudice in favour of the stratagems of war as practised by European nations, I might prefer chivalrous generosity to circumvention and deceit. It is, however, probable that the Koussa Caffers either have adopted, or will adopt, this established practice of polished people, in their warfare with the colonists\*.

\* " In the latter end of April 1819, the Caffers, headed by some English serjeants who had deserted, attacked Graham's town at Algoa bay, with a force of 7,000 men, and were repulsed with great slaughter. Each man carried seven hassagays, but none threw one till he was sure of his aim, when he would hit a man at the distance of sixty yards. When they were about to retreat, they threw them all, and then ran. It was said they ran so

The Koussas believe there is an invisible being that sometimes brings good, and sometimes evil; that causes men to die suddenly, or before they come to maturity; that raises the wind, and makes the thunder and lightning; that leads the sun across the world in the day, and the moon in the night; and that made every thing they cannot understand or imitate. This, though expressed in other words, is not far distant from our "Almighty Maker of heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is."

Male children are circumcised; but the Koussas give no other reason for this practice than, "it was the custom of our fathers."

On the evening that I quitted the residence of the king, about a thousand persons were assembled to see me. On so great an occasion a feast must be made; and the king ordered four oxen to be killed and distributed among the people. To me he gave one ox, which had been selected from his own herd, and with his own hand.

swiftly that a Cape horse could not overtake them. They were uncommonly handsome and well-made, and of such a stature that, compared with them, the English were dwarfs."—*Letter from a British Officer at the Cape.*

In 1620 a treaty was concluded between the governor of the colony and Gaika, by which the latter ceded to the English all the territory between the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma.

## CHAPTER VI.

## TAMBOOKIES AND HAMBONAS.

**H**AVING taken leave of Gaika, I bent my course southwards, towards the sea, intending to examine the mouth of the Keiskamma ; and in the evening I pitched my tent in a country so beautifully diversified by woods and meadows, rising grounds, and scattered trees, that it had the appearance of an English park. By the side of the river stood a number of small villages and detached huts which no longer contained any inhabitants. Stalks of millet were still standing in regular rows, the grain having been eaten by the birds ; and large water-melons had risen from the seeds of others that had gone to decay. Keeries, which are sticks with each a knob at the end, and which serve for the purposes of agriculture and war, and small wooden spades were lying in the gardens.

The mouth of the Keiskamma, which we reached the following day, is in  $33^{\circ} 12'$  south latitude, and  $28^{\circ} 6'$  east longitude. The river, near the mouth, was about the breadth of the Thames at Woolwich, and, apparently, very deep.

From the mouth of the Keiskamma I pursued my way to the north-east, at no great distance from the coast, and found myself in the territory of a Caffer chief called Sambee. I sent two of my people to this chief to ask permission to travel through his country, and to beg that he would

supply me with guides and interpreters. My messengers returned with a very polite answer from Sambee, who expressed his sorrow that he was not able to come himself on account of indisposition. He wished me a good journey; but informed me, that the country through which I was going was dangerous and difficult to pass. Above all, he recommended it to me to be upon my guard against Jaccaa, another Caffer chief, and his people, with whom he was at war, and whom he had twice beaten. Two guides accompanied this message.

Having crossed the river Keysana on the third day from quitting the Keiskamma; we arrived at the foot of a mountain, and were five hours in ascending it. To effect our passage we were obliged to cut our way through a large wood; and it was not till the following evening that we reached the bottom.

On the fifth day, having forded a branch of the Nutkay or Black river, we arrived at the land of the Bosjesmans. Here, in the cavities of the rocks, we found very natural resemblances of wild beasts, drawn by these people, and among them the figure of a soldier with a grenadier's cap. We this day travelled ten hours, and saw two lions.

On the sixth day we travelled eight hours, which brought us to the banks of a large river called the Kamsitkay, or White river, which is the largest river in the land of the Caffers. In the course of the day we saw three Bosjesmans who were hunting: and, pursuing them, my people laid hold of one, and brought him to the camp. I gave him first beads, and then tobacco, and then

his liberty ; he promised to return, and guide us through his country ; but we saw him no more.

Having crossed the White river, we came into a fine plain, interspersed with thorny bushes, and abounding with game. Here we saw three leopards, and shot three eelands and a buffalo.

On the twelfth day from the Keiskamma we came to the river Somoe, and having crossed it, and travelled five hours over a beautiful country, we came into the territory of the Tambookies. Here we shot an elephant, which was a great acquisition to us all ; the flesh regaling my Hottentots,—the melted fat being used in their cookery, and applied to their persons, supplying my lamp, and greasing the traces of my waggons.

On the sixteenth day we saw a lion and lioness, which had killed a buffalo ; and one of my people shot the lioness.

On the following day we travelled only three hours, being obliged to halt by heavy rain. It fell abundantly during the night, and extinguished our fires. A stormy night in the wilds of Africa is a scene of terror. The rain penetrates the tents and mats : the flashes of lightning bestow a momentary illumination on the most profound obscurity ; the bursts of thunder are re-echoed by the hills or mountains, and the beasts of prey prowl without being heard. Here we were visited by several of the Tambookies, among whom was a great chief called Joobie, and another, subordinate to him, named Louve. I gave them presents, and procured from them three Tambookies as guides.

On the twentieth day we passed a river called Nabagana, and in the course of the journey we

saw a lion, the largest that my most experienced hunters had ever seen. They pursued it ; but it escaped among the bushes, and we saw it no more.

On the twenty-first day of our journey from the Keiskamma, having ascended a high hill, we saw before us, at about the distance of six miles, a large river called Bosjie ; but it was impossible to approach it from hence, on account of the steepness of the descent. I remained in this place the whole of the following day, while I sent some of my people to discover the best way to the river. The best was bad, and far about, over rocky hills, and through underwood ; and we did not reach the river till the second evening, having travelled five hours each day.

On the twenty-fifth day we forded the river, and on the next we passed over a very steep mountain. In seven hours from this we came to a river called Nooga, from the banks of which we saw the sea at the distance of about six miles. Here we met with a horse that had escaped, seven years before, from a party that had travelled this way. He was wild, and on our approach galloped into a herd of eelands ; but we pursued him, and at length caught him, and the next day he was docile, and suffered himself to be mounted.

On the twenty-ninth day we arrived at the river Tuthaa, where we were visited by two of the Tambookies. Their appearance was unexpected ; as during the last eleven days we had not met with a human being, Gagabee Camboesa, the father of Sambee, having depopulated this tract of country by driving the inhabitants and their cattle into his own. The few remaining people had



hidden themselves in woods and caves, and lived chiefly by hunting.

On the thirty-first day we arrived at the banks of the river Taana, and thence, pursuing our way through the woods, we came on the third day to the top of an eminence, from which we saw several villages of the Hambonas. These are a different people from the Caffers, having a yellowish complexion, and long coarse hair, which is frizzed in the form of a turban. I dispatched four of my people with a present, consisting of beads and a sheet of copper, to the chief; and five of the Hambonas returned with my messengers. These people said, that subject to their chief was a village of bastard Christians, who were descended from people formerly shipwrecked on their coast, and that three old white women, who had been the wives of a Hambona chief, were still living.

On the following day we reached the village, and found its inhabitants composed of the descendants of the Whites and Hambonas, people of a mixed colour; we also saw the three old women, who said that they were sisters, and that they had been shipwrecked on this coast; but they were then too young to know to what nation they belonged. I offered to take them and their children with me to the Cape, on my return, which afforded them great satisfaction. This village is situated on the banks of the Little Mogasie river, and has large gardens planted with millet, maize, sugar-canes, potatoes, and many other vegetables. The people had also some cattle. Beyond the village we crossed the Great Mogasie river, near which is the residence of Camboesa, a great Hambona chief,

On the next day, the thirty-seventh, from the Keiskamma, we arrived at the banks of the Sea Cow river, which we forded with difficulty. Here the natives brought some gold and silver to exchange for red beads, and copper articles, of which they seemed excessively fond.

The second river from hence was the Tanwoeta, which was so high that we were obliged to wait a whole day before we could pass it. In three hours after we had passed, we arrived at a wood through which we had to cut our way ; and in two hours more at another.

On the forty-fifth day we crossed a river called Bogasie, at the mouth of which we shot two hippopotami. Here the natives brought us potatoes, sugar-canes, corn, and beans, gold and silver, in exchange for beads.

We now came to a rocky hill, that we could not pass without great danger and difficulty. Here I left the waggons, and ascended on horseback ; then dismounting, I led my horse down the precipice, and through a river, the bed of which was full of holes and rocks. From this river I proceeded about six miles, which brought me to the coast ; and in this space I passed seven rivers for which I had no name.

At this place, I understood from the natives, that the bay of de l'Agoa which I had visited before, was only four days' journey, or from 120 to 150 miles to the northward. This is a space easily travelled over in imagination. It may also be said that such a space was a trifle to me, who had already accomplished a journey so much longer. But that was the precise reason that I was not able to undertake this. There is a point

at which every man must stop, and having done his utmost, he can do no more. Several of my draught oxen had died, and many of those that remained were in a sickly condition ; I had travelled 197 hours from the Keiskamma, and I had to return to it ; I therefore rode back to my waggons.

From the place where my waggons had halted I proceeded twelve hours on horseback, and at night joined them at the river Bogasie, in which we found some oysters, and caught some delicious fish. On the evening of the fourth day my sentinels gave the alarm of being watched by the natives, and to shew their bravery they fired their pieces in the air. That same day more than two hundred of the natives had been with us, bartering gold and silver for beads and copper ; and I should have laughed at the fears of my brave defenders, if I had not been exasperated at their firing.

On the ninth day we re-passed the Great and Little Mogasie rivers, and came to the village of the three white women. I repeated my offer of taking them and their families with me to the Cape. They appeared extremely desirous to live among Christians, but unwilling to abandon their growing crops ; they therefore begged me to wait till after the harvest, when they, with their descendants, to the amount of four hundred, would be ready to attend me. It was not convenient for me to wait the ripening and gathering in of the grain ; so I left the three old women to prepare for another harvest, and their descendants to become, in time, Hambonas.

On the eleventh day, my people caught a young

elephant, and tied it to one of the waggons ; but they were soon obliged to give the animal its liberty ; as its cries brought about us such a number of elephants, that we were afraid of being trodden to death. A very large herd passed by us in the night.

Hitherto we had shot elephants, and my Hotentots had fed upon them, with impunity. On the fourteenth day of our return, a large male elephant came up to the waggons. He was instantly pursued and attacked, and after he had received several shots, and had twice fallen, he crept into a very thick underwood. Thinking he was past resistance, three of my hunters followed him on horseback to the edge of the thicket ; when he rushed out furiously, and seizing one of them with his trunk, he dragged him from his horse, trampled him to death, and driving one of his tusks through the body, threw it into the air, to the distance of thirty feet. The other two men, perceiving it was in vain to fly, dismounted, and hid themselves in the thicket.

The elephant having nothing now in view but the horse whose rider he had killed, followed him for some time ; but coming to the spot where the dead body lay, he stopped and looked at it. At that instant we all renewed the attack, and after the animal had received several more shots, he again took refuge in the thicket.

We began to dig a grave for the unfortunate hunter, when the elephant again rushed out, drove us all, and placing himself near the object of his victory, claimed it as his own. We now made a third attack upon him ; and having received several more bullets, he staggered, fell, and

my Hottentots dispatched him as he lay upon the ground. The rage of this animal is indescribable. Those among my people who were accustomed to elephant hunting declared, that it was the fleetest and most furious they had ever beheld.

On the seventeenth day we arrived, not without great difficulty, at the river Bosjie; the oxen being so reduced in numbers and strength, that I was obliged to harness my horses to the waggons. We passed this river in a boat that had been carried in one of the waggons.

My oxen were now continually failing and dying; I therefore dispatched a messenger to Joobie, the Tambookie chief, to endeavour to purchase a supply. The following day the man returned with three, which, though totally unaccustomed to the yoke, we were obliged to harness immediately. From hence we proceeded by a different road from that we had travelled before. It was about nine miles farther from the sea, shorter, much more even, and in every respect better; and after a journey of eight hours, we crossed the river Nabagana.

On the twenty-fifth day we proceeded only three hours, though we had thrown away a great part of our baggage; and finding my oxen still incapable of drawing the waggons, I dispatched two Hottentots on horseback, with orders to make all possible speed to the Bosjesmans' river, and procure a number of fresh ones from the Dutch farmers. We remained here two days, shooting and eating eelands and hippopotami; and on the third we proceeded slowly on our journey, and passed the Kamsitkay, or White river.

On one of the days of halting, I sent out three

of my best hunters before dawn, and they did not return till evening. A Hottentot never delivers the whole of his information at once. If any thing remarkable have happened, he will avoid mentioning it for some days; when he does speak of it, it is indirectly, and often so late that the only effect it can produce is vexation that it has not been told in time. I asked my hunters several times if they had shot any thing. At length they answered, "To be sure game is very scarce in this country." By pursuing my enquiries, I learned by degrees, that they had shot two rhinoceroses, and that they had each been killed with a single shot. The hide of these animals was about half an inch thick.

One of my Hottentots, who had been ordered to join me the next morning at the body of a rhinoceros, chose rather to stay by that of an eland, and he arrived a few hours too late. For this act of disobedience he might have expected reproof; yet he made his appearance quite unconcerned, holding some pieces of honey-comb in his hand. "The honing wyzer" (honey-guide), said he, "enticed me quite away from the place where the rhinoceros lay, to the place where the honey lay; but I have brought you a great deal of honey to besmear your mouth with." I must own that the honey sweetened not only my mouth, but the words that proceeded from it.

On the thirty-third day we crossed the Caffer mountain, and entered the country of Sambee. Here I had the satisfaction of meeting my Hottentots, with a sufficient number of draught-oxen; and the next day we re-passed the Keiskamma.

In going from the Keiskamma I passed forty-

two days in travelling, and six in repose ; in returning, I passed twenty-five days in travelling, and ten in repose. The time spent in actual travelling in going, was 197 hours ; that in returning was 174. The medium of this is 186, and perhaps, if the difficulty of the way be considered, not more than two miles can be allowed for the hour, which would make the distance from the Keiskamma 372 miles, and from the Cape about 1050.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### HOTTENTOTS.

SOON after I had passed the Great Fish river on my return to the Cape, I received a visit that induces me to go back to the Hottentots. And here I cannot help noticing the pains taken by one traveller to invalidate the testimony of another. It is my opinion that travellers speak only truth, either as it really is, or as it appears to them ; but as man is liable to misinformation and misconception, his falling into error is unavoidable.

One circumstance I think has not been sufficiently attended to in the case of the Hottentots, who are rapidly sinking under the yoke of a set of tyrants ; I mean the variations produced by time. Thus it has been said that the Hottentots wore the intestines of animals, and that when they became putrid they ate them. This was afterwards contradicted by a traveller, who affirmed that the Hottentots only wore rings of leather, and that

they only ate them in cases of necessity. It is now known that the Hottentots wear only glass beads, and that they do not eat them at all. The traveller who sees the beads has as much right to accuse the traveller who saw the leather, as the man of leather had to accuse the man of tripes. It seems to me extremely probable that the Hottentots did wear the guts of oxen, as I saw the Galla do in Abyssinia, and that they might eat them, as they certainly did the leather, when other provisions failed.

The indignation of travellers has been greatly excited by an assertion of a resident at the Cape in the year 1710. This was, that the several ceremonies of admitting a youth into the society of men, of marriage, of acknowledging a man a hero, of investing him with the property of a deceased relation, were performed by the priest sprinkling the expectant with a stream supposed to be more salt than sweet. Not only has the sprinkling been denied, but the existence of the priest; that is to say, seventy years after, when the Hottentots certainly had no priest, and almost no governor of their own nation\*.

Admitting then that the author of 1710 told some truths, and believing it possible to separate them from some mistakes, I shall extract from his work a few particulars, which, when compared with those of later periods, may form a history of the Hottentots.

The Hottentots were so swift that they would

\* Since the above was written the Editor of these Travels has had the satisfaction to find, that the opinion of the Dutch Governor of the Colony in 1805, respecting the veracity of Kolben, agreed with her own.



frequently outstrip a horse. They would throw a stone, and hit a mark no larger than a halfpenny at the distance of a hundred yards. With bows and arrows they were scarcely less unerring.

A Hottentot ate when humour or appetite called, without regard to time ; in fine weather in the open air, in bad weather in his hut.

A Hottentot would sing, dance, and converse with all imaginable gaiety, for twenty hours together, with milk and water only. I am sorry to observe that an Englishman's gaiety requires the support of stronger liquors.

The leaves of a sweet-scented spiræa called *bucha*, dried in the sun and beaten to powder, formed one of the ornaments of the Hottentots. The men powdered their hair with this, which is of a gold colour, in addition to the coat of soot and grease, which looked like a cap of black mortar. The women, whose hair was hidden under their caps, powdered their skins ; and after their persons were well greased and powdered, to heighten their beauty they painted their faces with red ochre. A mark of distinction was a leathern fringe round the cloak, and the chiefs were distinguished by cloaks of the skins of leopards or panthers. If a Hottentot, singly, killed a lion, a leopard, or a panther, he was regarded as a hero, and he wore the blown bladder of the animal in his hair as a proof of his victory.

Girls had their legs, from the ankle to the knee, bound with rushes. At twelve years of age, these were taken off, and rings of skin substituted in their place, which were increased from time to time, till some of the women had above a hundred of them, placed one above another, on each leg.

The rings were nicely fitted to the leg, and to each other, and in time became as hard as wood, and had the appearance of one piece, neatly turned.

One or two of the wisest men in each village practised medicine and surgery gratuitously. If the patient died, they asserted that their remedies were rendered ineffectual by witchcraft, and they were always believed. At the age of eighteen a youth was introduced into the society of men. A man might marry as many wives as he could maintain. A man might be divorced from his wife, or a woman from her husband, on shewing such cause as was satisfactory to the village, which assembled and determined on the occasion. The man might marry again immediately; the woman not while her former husband were living. In every country I have visited, I find some evidence that man, not woman, was the maker of the laws.

The eldest son claimed the riches of a deceased Hottentot, and the daughters and younger sons were his servants till they married. No man had a hut of his own till his marriage, when he and his bride jointly built one.

A rich Hottentot killed an ox, and treated the village, on the death of a relation whom he held dear; a poor one shaved his head in regular furrows, the shaven lines and those of hair being each an inch in breadth. A woman, for every marriage after the first, lost the joint of a finger, beginning with one of the little fingers.

The Hottentots believed that God made all things, and never did harm to any, and that he lived far above the moon. They also believed that there was an evil being, the author of all mischief, and they wheedled and coaxed him that

he might do them no injury. They had a great veneration for a particular insect, which they imagined brought a blessing on the village it appeared in ; and they believed that the destruction of their cattle would ensue if they were to kill it.

A village consisted of not fewer than twenty huts, and generally contained from three to four hundred persons. The huts were shaped like the tilt of a waggon, and were about fourteen feet long, and ten wide, though rarely high enough for a man to stand upright in the middle. They were made of a frame of sticks, covered with mats, manufactured by the women : those of the wealthy had an additional covering of skins, and were then impervious to the rain. The dwelling received no light but from the entrance, which was in the form of an arch, and about three feet high, and two wide. This was closed occasionally by a skin which was fastened at the top, and let down, like a curtain, and if the wind blew long from that quarter, the skin was kept down and a temporary entrance was opened at the back of the hut. The smoak could escape only at the entrance. It was insupportable to a European, but did not disturb a Hottentot.

A family in such a hut generally consisted of ten or twelve persons. Along the sides were dug a number of holes, each forming the bed of a single inhabitant, who lay on one of the cloaks worn in the day, and was covered with another. In the day both men and women squatted on their hams. The huts of the wealthy were often hung with beautiful cloaks, and a variety of trinkets ; and narrow, dark, and filthy, as all of them were, a continual harmony reigned in most of them. When a quarrel happened between a Hottentot

and his wife, all the neighbours ran to the suppression of strife, as we should do to the extinguishing of fire, and had no rest till the difference were amicably adjusted.

When a Hottentot died, the corpse was wrapped in the cloak worn by the deceased, and carried out of the side of the hut, which was opened for that purpose. All the men of the village, in one company, and all the women in another, attended it to the grave, with lamentable howling and extraordinary gesticulations.

On the death of an inhabitant, or a scarcity of pasturage, the Hottentots broke up the village; loaded the oxen with the materials and furniture of their huts, and such infants and aged persons as were not able to walk; and when they had fixed upon a place of residence, the village appeared again in a few hours.

Every family made its own pots. These were formed of ant-hills, the eggs of ants being a strong cement. They were moulded by the hand into the shape of the urns in which the Romans preserved the ashes of the dead; and when worked perfectly smooth, they were first dried in the sun, and then baked. They were very firm, and of a jet black.

The huts of the village were ranged close in a circle, with only one entrance, and that a narrow one. In the evening the sheep and cattle were driven from their pastures; the sheep and calves placed in the circle, and the cattle tied without it, with their heads close to the back of the huts. If a wild beast approached, the men were soon informed of it by the lowing and uneasiness of the cattle, and rushed out to their deliverance.

Every village was provided with at least half a dozen oxen which were trained to guard the rest of the herd. They fed on the outside, when in the pasture, and would not suffer a stranger to approach them. These oxen were employed in their wars, and, forcing their way through the enemy, they made terrible slaughter.

There was hardly a hut that had not one or two dogs belonging to it, brave, honest, faithful creatures, which shared their masters' toils and good will in the day, and guarded his cattle by night. With a thousand good qualities, the form of this animal was such that any but a Hottentot might have been ashamed of him.

Truth obliges me to confess, that the author of 1710 says, "helpless age is thrust out of society, and left to perish alone, and female infants who cannot be provided for are deserted." He adds, that the Hottentots justify both these customs on the principle of humanity, and that they are indeed a humane, generous, and hospitable people. In the state of society in which we live, no necessity can be pleaded in defence of murder; but there are situations in a wandering uncivilized life where the care of others is impossible. In such situations I have no doubt that the Hottentots abandoned those they could not save; and the reason that modern travellers find no such custom is, that there exists no such necessity.

In the year 1772 it was said that the way to the abodes of the Hottentots was long, their societies were small, their way of life was much altered, and their whole nation under great restraint; their children, however, were numerous. The ceremony of constituting a youth a man was not

wholly laid aside, and it was actually performed by besprinkling him with urine. No man was permitted to eat of game that had been hunted and killed till he were invested with this dignity. Men never drank milk that had been drawn by women. Milk was kept in leathern sacks, bladders of animals, and baskets neatly and closely woven. The fresh milk was added to the remains of the old, perhaps for three months together, and it was always coagulated. They detested salt, and loved grease in the same proportion.

Hottentot chiefs wore cloaks of leopard skins ; and such Hottentots as had killed leopards or panthers were entitled to wear their skins. Many carried in their hand a fox's tail, with which they wiped the sweat from their brow. Leathern rings were still worn on the legs. They were beaten till the slip of hide became round like a cord, and till the joining of the two ends could not be perceived.

To mount a tree, the Hottentots took a rope made of bark, and having tied a noose round the tree, they set one foot upon it. They then tied a second noose, higher up ; and, when mounted on that, they untied the first, and so proceeded, carrying the rope up with them.

A small grey species of grasshopper was called by the colonists the Hottentot's god. It was certainly held in some degree of esteem by the Hottentots ; so that they would not willingly hurt it, and they deemed that person fortunate on whom it settled.

In the year 1782 a traveller in the spot where I now was, received a visit from the chief of a tribe of Hottentots called Gonaquas, followed by about

twenty of his people. They were all shining with grease, the women were powdered with buchu, and had their faces painted in various ways. Each brought some present; the chief a plume of ostrich feathers; the others, ostrich's eggs, a lamb, or a beautiful basket filled with milk. This community, which was the most considerable of the Gonaquas, consisted of about four hundred persons, of both sexes and all ages. When a father had six children it was accounted a phenomenon.

The traveller returned the visit of the Hottentots. Every man of the village, the chief at their head, came out to meet him; the women and children remained in the huts. He entered several of these habitations, and saw the brown females motionless, and fixed to the wall in the back part of the hut, like so many portraits in shade. By degrees, however, they became familiar, and he was soon surrounded by them. They were all dressed in their richest attire, their persons fresh greased and powdered, and their faces painted in a hundred different ways.

The traveller entered the habitation of the chief, and displayed a number of beads before his wife, bidding her take those she liked best. Without hesitation she laid her hands upon some strings of red and white, which she said would look better than any others, as they were most different from the colour of her skin. He added some brass wire for bracelets, and the other women lifted up their hands, and with a loud voice declared that the wife of Haabas was the happiest of all women.

When the traveller had distributed beads among the women, and tobacco and knives among the men, he was told by the chief that some old in-

firm men, who were not able to go abroad, requested to see him. He visited them in their huts, and found they were all attended by children of eight or ten years of age, who gave them food, and rendered them the other services their debility required. It was said that when a Hottentot woman had brought twins, and was not able to nourish both, one had sometimes been sacrificed; but this was a subject they spoke of with horror.

Young women were marriageable at the age of twelve or thirteen. The form of marriage consisted only in a promise of living together. A few sheep, and sometimes an ox, were killed to celebrate the festival; the parents gave a few cattle to the young couple; the latter constructed a hut for their dwelling. A Hottentot took as many wives as he chose, which was seldom more than one.

When an infant was born, it was placed on the back of its mother, and supported by two aprons; nothing was seen but its head. Whether the mother worked or danced, she never quitted her child, and the child never cried, except when impelled by hunger. In that case the mother drew it to one side, gave it the breast, either under the arm, or over the shoulder; and then resumed her labour or her dance. When the mother judged that the infant was able to crawl, she laid it on the ground before the hut, and let it shift for itself. From creeping, it tried to stand, and from standing, it soon learned to run alone.

The Hottentots could sing a whole night upon one subject, by repeating the same words a thousand times. In dancing they formed a circle, men and women, going round, separating at intervals,



and clapping their hands ; then following each other with an air of melancholy, and suddenly breaking out into the most extravagant mirth ; then concluding in a sort of confusion, each exhibiting all his strength and agility.

The art and taste of the women were displayed in the decoration of the apron. The design of the pattern, and the colours of the ornaments were particularly attended to, and the more their apparel was loaded with beads, the better. Their caps were, if possible, made of the skin of the Zebra, because the white, intersected by brown or black stripes, added, according to their own expression, something to their beauty. They painted with red and black ; some only their cheeks, but in general they painted the body in different compartments, which was a work of no small labour. Men, in every climate, less fond of finery than women, painted no part of the face but the upper lip to the nose : they were, however, proud of wearing ivory, and still more of wearing brass, rings on their arms and legs.

When a Hottentot died, he was wrapped in his cloak, and the body was deposited in a pit dug at some distance from the village, where it was first covered with earth, then with stones, if any could be found, and then dug up by the jackal or hyena. The body of a chief was covered with a greater heap of stones.

The chief was elected, but his power was limited. He enjoyed no privilege but that of being exempted from going in his turn to attend the flocks. In councils his advice was taken, if it were judged to be good ; otherwise no regard was

paid to it. In war, each man attacked and defended after his own manner, and the most intrepid led the way.

The village of the Gonaquas consisted of about forty circular huts, eight or nine feet in diameter, covered with skins or mats. They occupied a space of about six hundred feet square; were connected together by small inclosures; and the whole formed several crescents. In these small inclosures the calves and lambs were shut up in the day, as they were only allowed to suck morning and evening; and besides these, there were three large inclosures, well fenced, which confined the cattle and sheep of the whole tribe during the night.

The entrance of the huts was low and narrow; and while it was the only admittance for the light, it was the only out-let for the smoke. The thick vapour that these kennels retained, added to their villainous odour, would have rendered them untenable to a European. Indeed the Hottentots themselves, in general, occupied them only in the night; when, laid on mats covered with sheepskins, and attended by lice and other insects, which all their care could not extirpate, they slept as soundly as if their beds had been of down.

When an ox designed for burden was young, a piece of stick, eight or ten inches in length, and nearly one in diameter, was thrust through the cartilage of the nose, and a leathern thong fastened at each end. This curb, which acted as a bridle, and was sufficient to restrain the animal, remained during its life. When the ox had nearly attained its full growth, it was bound with a leathern girth, which was drawn tighter by

degrees: light burdens were then placed on its back, and these were gradually increased, till it carried, without inconvenience, three hundred pounds weight. The girths were often more than twenty yards in length, and passed many times over the load, and under the body of the ox. Horses had now been introduced among the Hottentots; but such as had not horses still rode upon their oxen.

I now received a visit from the chief of the Gonaquas, whose tribe was reduced to about a dozen persons, and while I write I believe they are extinct.

From the Great Fish river I returned by the way I came, and thus finished my first journey from the Cape.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### FROM THE CAPE TO GRAAF REYNET.

ON my second journey from the Cape, I directed my course to the north of east, and having travelled twenty-seven miles, the plain was terminated to the eastward by two mountains, between which the road led into a valley well watered and well cultivated. The houses of the farmers were neatly thatched with rye-straw, and surrounded with plantations of oaks, from ten to fifteen feet in circumference, and from twenty to thirty feet without a branch.

The mountains that bound the eastern end of this valley are eminently grand, but towards their

summits quite bare. They are a part of the great chain which stretches northward from False Bay, and shuts out from the Cape all the countries to the eastward of it. There are three kloofs, or clefts, in this range, the only passes commonly attempted by wheels; Hottentot's Holland's kloof, which I passed in my former journey, Roode Sand, or Red Sand kloof, opposite to Saldanha bay, which I was going to pass, and Eland's kloof, further north, which opens into a wild and almost uninhabited part of the country.

In the valley I crossed the Berg, or Mountain river. Here, two farmers, rather than pay four shillings for the toll of their two waggons at the ferry, forded the river a little lower down, and passed it with the loss only of two sheep. Sugar-canes here, and in other parts of the colony, grow wild in great abundance; and a farmer who complained that they over-ran his garden, being asked why he did not turn them to advantage, replied, that he should not be the first to try the experiment, while he could buy sugar at the Cape at three shillings a pound.

The road beyond the ferry was excellent, being a level bed of hard clay; but the country was thinly inhabited, and the wolf and the jackal followed us in the night. It was midnight before we arrived at a solitary habitation, in a bleak, open country, on the borders of a lake called Vogel valley or Bird lake. The word valley in the colony signifies either lake or swamp; in the present instance it was the latter; but it abounded with ducks, geese, and teal, the great white pelican, and the rose-coloured flamingo. The wings of the latter are used as fans to drive away the multitude

of flies which infest the farm-houses, for want of a proper attention to cleanliness ; and the pelican is shot for the sake of the fine soft down which lies under its plumage.

A few miles beyond this swamp brought us to the Roode Sand kloof, or pass in the mountains, which is about seventy miles from Cape Town. The ascent was rugged, but not steep, and from the top there was no descent to the lands called Roode Sand. This is a plain about thirty miles in length, and four or five hundred feet higher than the vale we had passed. It is well watered by small streams falling from the mountains that inclose it, and produces abundance of corn, some wine, and many fruits. A new Drosdy, that of Tulbagh, had been established here, and the village of that name, the residence of the landrost, was placed a little higher up the valley. The plain is bounded on the eastern side by a branch of the same chain, much higher than that we had passed, yet accessible by waggons. The summits of the mountains were buried in snow, and the thermometer stood, at sunrise, on the plain, at the freezing point.

After quitting this division, the country became wild, and almost uninhabited. Bogs, swamps; morasses covered with rushes and sour plants, tracts of hard, naked clay, deep sandy roads, pools of stagnant water, and hillocks of ants, were the chief objects that met the eye. On the left was the vast chain of mountains we were shortly to pass, the second branch of the northern chain. They consisted of immense columnar masses of naked stone, with jagged tops like the battlements of towers, which leaned from their

bases, and seemed to owe their support to each other.

Within these hills we came to a valley about three miles in length and two in width, with a surface as level as a bowling-green, and a stream of clear hot smoking water. The temperature appeared to be nearly that of boiling; yet the family living near it employed it for all sorts of culinary uses.

From hence we crossed the Breede, or Broad river, and entered the Hex river's kloof, the pass on the northern side of the plain. This pass is about four miles in length; the ascent is much less than that of the Roode Sand kloof. The mountains on each side were bare; the kloof itself abounded with plants; and, basking in the sun, was a troop of four or five hundred large black baboons, which quitted their place with reluctance, and howled as they scrambled up the sides of the naked rocks.

The head of the pass opened into a valley about fifteen miles in length and two in width, to which there was no descent. The mountains that guarded the northern side were covered with snow half way down from their tops; yet the orange trees at their feet were loaded with fine ripe fruit. Four families, the only inhabitants of the Hex river valley, formed a world of their own; and their wants might be bounded by their horizon, for the fertility of the ground supplied them with almost every necessary of life.

I had now travelled nine days from the Cape, and at the head of this deep and narrow valley I was to take leave of every human habitation for the sixteen following, that time being required to

cross obliquely the great karroo or desert that lay between me and the village of Graaff Reynet. The loss I sustained in leaving the habitations of the Dutch farmers, however, was not great; for few of them, behind the first range of mountains from the Cape, have any sort of convenience or cleanliness.

The Dutch boor, as he calls himself, placed in a country where every luxury might be procured by industry, has scarcely the enjoyment of any. His cattle are numerous, yet he uses very little milk and butter. In a soil and climate favourable for the cultivation of the vine, he has no wine. He has few, or no vegetables, or roots. Three times a day his table is loaded with masses of mutton, swimming in the fat of the sheep's tail. His house is either open to the roof, or covered with rough poles and turf, affording shelter for scorpions and spiders. His earthen floors are covered with dust and dirt, and swarm with ants and other insects. His principal pieces of furniture are, a great chest that contains all his moveables, and two smaller ones fitted to his waggon. The bottoms of his chairs are of thongs cut from a bullock's hide. His windows are without glass; or, if there be any remains of this article, it is so patched and dirtied as almost to exclude the light it was intended to admit.

The boor, however, is not without his enjoyments. He is the lord of a domain several miles in extent, and he is the tyrant of some slaves and Hottentots. He smokes all day, except during the intervals of eating, drinking, and his afternoon's nap. Unwilling to work, unable to think, he indulges his appetite, grows to an unwieldy size, and

the first inflammatory disease that attacks him carries him off. The men are in general very tall and stout, but ill-made, and loosely put together.

The mistress of the family passes a life of listless inactivity. Born in the wilds of Africa, educated among slaves and Hottentots, she sits, with her coffee-pot constantly boiling before her on a small table, and is fixed to her chair like a piece of the furniture. I saw, in the Roode Sand, a farmer's wife, who weighed 364 lbs. or twenty-six stone, and another very little less. The women are, however, very prolific; six or seven children being reckoned a small number, and from twelve to twenty a common one. The young girls sit with their hands before them as listless as their mothers.

The only amusement of the sons forms also the whole of their education. As soon as a boy can climb to the driver's seat in the front of the waggon, he places himself on it, with a whip in his hand proportionate to his size, commands the oxen, which he supposes to be present, calls them by their names, strikes the place of any one that is supposed to be disobedient, and drives the team in imagination. The boy and the whip increase in size together, till the man can wield a whip fifteen or sixteen feet in length, with a thong at the end still longer, and can strike a pebble or a piece of money that lies on the ground at the distance of twenty-five feet, or bring down a partridge that is flying in the air.

The dangerous roads of the colony, and the perilous fords of the rivers, are little heeded by the farmers. Each gets over the difficulty as well as he can, and thinks of it no more till it occur again. Half a day is consumed in passing a wag-



gon and its lading over a river thirty or forty yards in breadth, when a few planks, properly put together, would carry cattle, carriage, and goods, to the other side in five minutes. The farmers are scrupulously exact in their attendance at church, though the performance of this duty costs many of them a journey of several days. Those who are two or three weeks' journey from the nearest church, generally go once a year, taking their families with them.

Every journey taken for pleasure by a farmer is called "a little ride." By this is understood a visit to a friend ; and though the friend may live at the distance of from fifty to seventy miles, and the visit may last a week, still it is a little ride. Every member of the family, wife and daughters included, has a separate horse for riding ; and when one meets one of these cavalcades, one knows not which to admire most, the boldness of the riders, or the swiftness and sure-footedness of the horses, over steep declivities and rocky roads. In the more wealthy part of the colony they have light waggons, drawn by six or eight spirited horses, for these family parties.

The Dutch farmers excel in that virtue of uncivilized nations, hospitality. A foreigner, a countryman, a friend, a relation, are equally welcome to what the house affords. A traveller alights from his horse, enters the dwelling, shakes hands with the men, kisses the women, and sits down without further ceremony. When the table is served, he takes his place without waiting for an invitation. If there be a bed in the house, it is given to the stranger ; if none, which is frequently the case among the graziers in the district of Graaff Reynet, he takes his chance with the rest of

the family for a bench, or a heap of sheep-skins. In the morning, after a solid breakfast, and a glass of brandy, he quits as he entered, shaking hands with the men, and saluting the women; he wishes his hosts health,—they wish him a good journey.

A Dutch farmer never passes a house on the road without alighting, unless it be that of his next neighbour, with whom it is ten to one he is at variance; and if two farmers meet on the road, whether strangers or friends, they dismount to shake hands. When a youth can drive a team of oxen, and shoot well, he shakes hands with the men, salutes the women, smokes tobacco, and ranks as a man.

I remained two days in the Hex river valley, laying in provisions for crossing the Karroo, and was here joined by two graziers of Graaff Reynet, with their waggons, families, and Hottentots. It is usual to cross this desert well armed, and in parties, from the fear that is entertained of the Bosjesmans, or Bushmen, who are said to lurk in thickets, and shoot their poisoned arrows against the unwary traveller. It appeared to me, however, that the Bosjesmans had as least as much reason to fear the Dutch farmers; for I heard one of them say at the Cape that he had killed only four Bosjesmans in his last journey, and another that he had, in the whole, killed near three hundred.

From the Hex river valley we proceeded to the north-east, and in four hours we gained the summit of the lowest part of the mountains that inclose it. The ascent was from terrace to terrace, and might be about 1,500 feet in the distance of six miles. From the top, towards the east, there was

little or no descent. Here the country wore a new aspect ; the great chains of mountains retreated behind us ; and a rugged surface of hill and dale appeared on every side. Not a tree, or a tall shrub, broke the uniformity of the view ; not a bird or a beast enlivened the dreary waste.

Our second day's journey was about twenty-five miles, which brought us to a place where a Bas-taard had been tempted, by a small spring of water, to build a hut, and plant a few trees. The spring had been found insufficient, and the place had been abandoned ; but two spreading oaks were remaining, and the water at this time was excellent.

On the third day we travelled only twelve miles. The road was in some places rocky and uneven, in others a deep sand, and our oxen were beginning to droop for want of pasturage. Not a blade of grass had been seen since we entered the desert, and shrubs were thinly scattered, except in the neighbourhood of the springs. At one of these, called Mentjie's hoek, where there was a solitary oak, and the remains of a hut, we rested for the night.

A butcher here passed our encampment, with about five hundred head of cattle, and five thousand sheep, which he had been purchasing of the farmers of the Sneuwberg. The average weight of a bullock was about 400 lbs. and the price about forty-eight shillings ; but, after a journey of forty or fifty days, these animals generally arrive at the Cape in a maimed and miserable condition. The sheep weigh from sixty to seventy pounds, when they are taken from their pasture, and are sold to the butchers, who collect them for six or eight

shillings each. The tail is short, broad, and flat, and commonly weighs five or six pounds, though it sometimes exceeds twelve. The fat melts to the consistence of oil, and is frequently used instead of butter. The clothing of the animal is little better than frizzled hair.

On the fourth day, from the exhausted state of our oxen, three of which we were obliged to leave behind, we made a stage of ten or twelve miles only, to the Riet fonteyn, or Red spring, which rises from a cone-shaped hill, and runs with a feeble stream to the southward.

On the fifth day we crossed the bed of the Buffalo river, which was at least fifty yards in width, but the water was scarcely sufficient to form a current. Its deep shelving banks, and the wreck of roots and shrubs, were evidences of the power with which, at certain seasons, it had formed a grand chasm through the Zwaart bergen or Black mountains, to the southward, in its way to the eastern ocean. The part of the desert that succeeded was more sterile than any we had met with. About ten miles beyond the Buffalo river we encamped for the night on the banks of a small running brook called Geelbeck.

Among the hills that surround the plain of Geelbeck, we saw a small herd of zebras, and a great number of another animal of the same species called by the Hottentots qua-ka. Its stripes are fainter than those of the zebra, and are marked on the fore-quarters only; but it is well-shaped, strong limbed, and more tractable. It is said that the zebra is untameable; perhaps because patience and mild treatment have not been tried. On many parts of the desert we saw ostriches scower-

ing the plains, and waving their black and white plumes in the wind.

On the sixth day we proceeded about twenty-four miles, over a rising country marked by hill and dale, but producing nothing, except patches of the fig-marigold and the ice-plant. The Black mountains, which were about fifteen miles to the southward, had lost their characteristic, and were become white, for they were covered with snow. At night, the thermometer was at the freezing point, and in the morning two degrees below it. Our horses had been sick ever since we entered the desert, and two of them sunk here under the severity of the weather; several of our oxen also perished for want of food.

Man is a hard master to such of the brute creation as he has trained for his service. The more he is civilized, the greater are his wants, the more he requires from these servants, and the less he is sensible of their sufferings. They are, indeed, "the beasts that perish," from the ox that draws the African waggon, to the horse that draws the English stage-coach, or the one that carries the brute his owner a hundred miles in twelve hours for a wager.

On the seventh day we crossed the Dwyka, or Rhinoceros river, and encamped on its banks. Its bed was more than a hundred yards in breadth, but the water would scarcely have turned a mill. Though the surrounding country was destitute of vegetation, the banks were covered with a thick forest of the mimosa.

On the eighth day we rested on the banks of the Ghamka, or Lion's river, having travelled about twenty miles of the finest road imaginable. The

surface was as level as a bowling-green, and had neither stone, sand, nor impression of a wheel. A wide-spreading plain, barren as its southern boundary the Black mountains, presented an even line to the horizon, on each side and before us. On approaching the Ghamka, the face of the country improved. Large mimosas, and a species of willow, skirted its banks; and hares, partridges, wild ducks, and mountain-geese, were seen in abundance.

As we crossed the Karroo from west to east, a little inclining to the north, we were now only twelve miles distant from a chasm in the Zwaart berg, in which was said to be a farm-house; and as we were in want of draught oxen, and other necessities, we quitted the great road on the following day, and proceeded towards it. We found oranges and cauliflowers, wine, the produce of the place, peach and almond-trees in full bloom, at the foot of mountains whose summits were covered with snow.

From this place I saw to the northward across the plains of the Karroo, the Nieuwveld mountains, which form a part of the third step, or terrace. To estimate the height of these with precision, is impossible; but on comparing those I had passed with what I saw before me, perhaps, I might not greatly err if I conjectured that they were not less than 10,000 feet above the level of the sea. Snow falls upon them to the depth of five or six feet, and lies upon them for as many months.

The mistress of the farm-house was the mother of sixteen children, and, at the age of sixty, she was a tall, straight, well-looking, active woman. All the people who made their appearance from

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different houses in the Black mountains, behind that of our host, were of a stature much exceeding the common size of man.

Having completed our stock of provisions, and procured some stout oxen from the inhabitants of the Zwaart berg, we again entered the Karroo, and proceeded near thirty miles, to a spring called Sleutel fonteyn.

On the eleventh day of actual travelling since Hex river valley, we encamped on the banks of the Traka, or Maiden river. The little water remaining in it was both muddy and salt, and the sand on its banks was covered with a thin crust of nitre. At sun-rise the thermometer was five degrees below the freezing point.

On the twelfth day of travelling in the Karroo, we skirted the banks of the Traka about ten miles, passed the Ghowka, or Boor's river, which was perfectly dried up, and in the evening arrived at the Great Loory fonteyn. We filled our casks with its water, which was muddy, salt, bitter, and standing in pools, and went on, though in the dark. In the middle of the night we arrived at a spot where once had flowed a rill of water, and where still were growing clumps of acacias, and patches of saline and succulent plants. Our oxen devoured the plants, and our horses made a hearty meal of the thorny acacia, at the expence of bleeding mouths. The acrid juices of the succulent plants, and sour herbage of some parts of the colony, oblige the cattle to seek correctives, and in the choice of these they are not very delicate; for old rags, pieces of leather, dried wood, bones, and even sand and small pebbles, are greedily devoured by them. Horses very commonly eat their

own dung, and numbers have died from eating flinty sand.

On the thirteenth day we advanced nearly thirty miles over a bed of solid clay, and encamped at night in the midst of a meadow, knee-deep in herbage. A transition so sudden, from perfect sterility to luxuriant vegetation, appeared more like enchantment than reality. It had, however, no such appearance to the hungry cattle, who, not doubting that the feast was solid, made no small havock in freeing themselves from their yokes and traces. The name of the place is Beer valley. It is a plain of several miles in breadth, stretching along the feet of the Zwaart bergen, and seeming to be the reservoir of a number of periodical rivers, whose sources are in the different mountains of Nieuwveld, Winterberg, and Camdebo. One of these, which was now running, was as salt as the water of the English Channel,—another was quite fresh; all were skirted with mimosas. The valley was covered with coarse rushy grass, and the swamps with reeds.

On the following day we travelled twenty miles, and encamped on the banks of Hottentot's river, in the deep and narrow channel of which were only a few pools of stagnant water.

The next day we arrived at the Poort, so called from its being a narrow passage through a range of hills that branch out from the mountains of Camdebo, and run across the desert. Though the Poort may be considered as the entrance into Camdebo, the country is as barren as the Karroo. The first habitation was twelve miles beyond the Poort, and the second ten miles beyond the first; the third house was fifteen or sixteen miles beyond



the second, and we saw no other between that and Graaff Reynet, which is ten miles farther, and where we arrived late in the evening of the sixteenth day from entering the desert. Our journey from the Cape had occupied thirty days, twenty-five of which had been passed in travelling, and five in repose.

The division of Graaff Reynet, properly so called, extends about ten miles on every side of the village. On the north and east it is terminated by the Sneuw bergen, or Snow mountains; on the south and west by a branch of the Camdeboo. The village, which is called the Drosdy, from its being the residence of the landrost, and the seat of his government, is situated in a plain of not more than two square miles, surrounded by mountains 2,000 feet in height. These lofty walls of rock render the heat of summer intense; and the winds of winter, rushing through a chasm, not only make the cold intolerable, but raise eddies of red earth and sand that confine the inhabitants to their houses. The Sondag, or Sunday river, in its passage from the Sneuwberg, enters through this chasm in the mountains, winds round the plain, and furnishes the village with a copious supply of water. The division contained only twenty-six families; twelve inhabiting the village, and fourteen scattered over a country little better than the Karroo.

The houses of the village were constructed with mud, and placed in two lines, so as to form a street. The house of the governor was also of mud, and stood at the upper end. The walls of all the buildings were excavated, and the floors undermined, by a species of white ant; and the bats, which lodged

in the thatch, came forth at night in such numbers as to extinguish the candles. No milk, no butter, no cheese, no vegetables, no wine, no beer, could be had, on any terms, at Graaff Reynet.

The village of Graaff Reynet is in latitude  $32^{\circ} 11'$  south, and longitude  $26^{\circ}$  east. The distance from the Cape is 500 miles. In summer the thermometer is from 80 to 84 in the middle of the day.

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## CHAPTER IX.

SNEUWBERG. BOSJESMANS.

FROM Graaff Reynet I travelled to the northward, in search of the Bosjesmans, who dwell among, and behind, the Snow mountains. These people neither cultivate the ground, nor breed cattle; but subsist on the natural produce of the country, and on what they can seize from others more provident than themselves. In its eagerness to subdue this people, the Dutch government gave the colonists power to attack them at whatever times, and in whatever manner they pleased, and decreed that his should be the spoil who took it. The spoil belonging to the Bosjesmans was their persons, for goods or possessions they had none; therefore every party that hunted the Bosjesmans, and took them alive, divided them among themselves as slaves. Such as have been taken very young, and well treated, have turned out most excellent servants, and have shewn great capacity, activity, and fidelity: but it has been observed that the servants of the Dutch farmers are not always

well treated. The Hottentot bears brutality with patience, or sinks under it; the Bosjesman escapes to his countrymen, and, if he can, carries with him a musquet, powder, and ball; he excites them to revenge the cruel usage he has received, and points out the way.

Armed with musquets and poisoned arrows, a party of these people had the boldness to approach within four or five miles of the Drosdy, a few days before my arrival, and carry off several hundred sheep. They were followed into one of the recesses of the Sneuwberg, where they laughed at their pursuers, and invited them to taste their own mutton; and a musquet ball grazing the hat of one of the farmers, the whole body made a precipitate retreat.

At the distance of ten miles, in a north-westerly direction, we reached the foot of the mountains, from whence a narrow defile of five miles in length, and a steep ascent of three, brought us out on the extensive plains, and among the scattered mountains that compose the Sneuwberg.

The haunts of the Bosjesmans were easily discoverable, but not easy of access. Torrents of water, rushing down the steep sides of the chasms, frequently leave a succession of caverns: of these the Bosjesman chooses the highest, as the most remote from danger, and giving him the most extensive view of the country.

In one of these caverns we saw recent traces of the Bosjesmans. Their fires were scarcely extinguished, and the grass on which they had slept was not withered. On the smooth sides of the cavern were drawings of zebras, qua-kas, baboons, ostriches, and different kinds of antelopes, made

with charcoal, pipe-clay, and ochre. For correctness, worse drawings have passed through the hands of the engraver. Some of these were known to be new; but many of them have been remembered from the first settlement of this part of the colony.

At the house of the commandant of the Sneeuwberg, I saw one of these wild men, who, with his two wives and a little child, had fallen to the lot of this officer, out of forty that had been taken. The man was only four feet five inches high; one of the women four feet three, and the other four feet two. This man represented the condition of his countrymen as deplorable. He said that for several months in the year, when the frost and snow prevented them from making their inroads upon the farmers, they frequently saw their wives and children perishing with hunger, without being able to afford them any relief; that the good season brought its misery, as they knew that every nation around them was planning their destruction, and not a leaf stirred, or a bird screamed, that did not announce to them the approach of an enemy. Hunted like wild beasts in their own country, and ill-treated in the service of the farmers, he said they were driven to desperation, and the burden of their song was vengeance against the Dutch.

On the following evening we encamped at the foot of the Compass berg, which is about 6,500 feet above the level of the sea. It is separated from the surrounding mountains on four sides, by as many large level meadows. On the south-east is the source of the Sondag; and on all the others are springs, which, uniting at no great distance,

flow directly to the north, and form the Sea-cow river. The country on the northern side of the mountain is at least 1,500 feet above the source of the Sondag.

The rills of water that ran through the meadows were covered with reeds, and these were frequented by vast flocks of birds, particularly by the grenadier, which in spring and summer is of a bright crimson, with a breast of glossy black, and in winter wears the garb of the female, which is at all times of a greyish brown. Another remarkable bird was the long-tailed finch, whose body is five, and whose tail is fifteen inches in length, and whose long feathers last no longer than the grey plumage of the other. The nests of the long-tailed finch are composed of grass, neatly plaited into a round ball, and knotted fast between the stems of two reeds. The entrance is a tube, whose orifice is next to the water.

The termination of the Sneuwberg is about twelve miles to the north-eastward of the Compass berg, where a pass opens to a level plain, extending to the northward farther than the eye can reach.

The elevated parts of the Snow mountains produced tufts of a long grass, mingled with small heathy shrubs; the plains were beautifully adorned with flowers; but the whole country was destitute of wood. The fuel used by the inhabitants was the dung of their cattle, and there were many of them who had never seen a tree.

The farmers of the Sneuwberg can neither plough nor sow without their arms, lest they should be surprised by the Bosjesmans. If a man go into his garden to gather a few greens, he takes his

musket in his hand. To recompence such a life of terror, his sheep are the best in the colony, and he seldom has fewer than three or four thousand sheep, with tails from twelve to twenty pounds weight. His butter is the best in the colony; it is salted, put into casks, and sent to the Cape; and fifty cows will yield one hundred pounds of butter a week, besides rearing their calves. The draught oxen are large and stout; the horses, though small, are capable of enduring, and therefore must endure, hard service.

In the Sneuwberg the flocks are guarded from hyenas and leopards by dogs. The kind most in request is a large Danish dog, three of which are a match for a leopard. At many farms, three or four dogs will go out together unbidden, to kill game for their master; and when they have killed an antelope, one of them comes home alone, and intices some person to follow him. He conducts him to the animal, while the others remain to guard it, that it may not be carried off by wild beasts. I witnessed an occurrence of this kind, when, with the master, I followed the dog, and at the distance of three quarters of an hour, we found two others lying by a slain antelope, and licking the blood that flowed from a wound in its throat. The spotted hyena is here called a wolf.

The inhabitants of the Sneuwberg are an orderly, brave, and hardy people. The danger to which they are constantly exposed has called forth the active powers of the women as well as those of the men. The wife of a farmer who accompanied me in this excursion, having, in the absence of her husband, received intelligence that the Bosjes-

mans had carried off a flock of their sheep, mounted her horse, took a musket in her hand, and, attended by a single Hottentot, engaged the plunderers, put them to flight, and recovered the sheep that had been taken.

The next day we proceeded about twenty-six miles to the northward, which brought us to the Sea-cow river. The northern rivers generally consist of a chain of deep pools, connected by narrow channels, which, for the greater part of the year, are dry. Some of the pools of the Sea-cow river were five or six miles in length, and deep enough to have floated a line-of-battle ship.

On the following day we passed over plains that swarmed with gnoos, qua-kas, hartebeests, and springboks; and, in pursuing some antelopes, we killed a large tiger-wolf, and two cobra capella. One of these was five, and the other nearly six feet long; they were both of a golden yellow, were very fierce, and made several attempts to spring at the horses.

Twenty miles farther to the northward we arrived at that part of the river where Governor Van Plettenberg ended his travels, and where he set up a baaken, or stone, as the boundary of the colony. The Bosjesmans, whose opinion had not been asked on thus taking possession of their country, had thrown down the baaken, and broken it in pieces.

The limits of the colony were then formed by a line drawn from this landmark to the mouth of the Great Fish river, on the east; and from the same landmark, by a line sweeping inwards, to the mouth of the Koussie river, on the west; but these limits are continually extending. The

Orange river itself is no barrier to the zeal of missionaries, and the avarice of adventurers.

On the opposite side of the river was a clump of bushes, loaded with nests, so large, that we thought they belonged either to the vultures that were hovering over them, or the blue cranes that sat by the side of the river. On approaching the bushes, a number of birds of the thrush kind flew out of them. These are called the locust-eaters; they appear only with the destructive insects on which they feed; and though their numbers are said to be no less astonishing than those of the locusts, they had here pitched upon a place where they were not likely to want provisions; for the breadth of ten miles on each side the Sea-cow river, and the length of eighty or ninety miles, was literally covered with locusts in their incomplete state. The river was scarcely visible on account of the locusts that had been drowned, it attempting to reach the reeds; and they had devoured every green herb and blade of grass. On examination, we found the nest of the locust-eater consisted of many cells, and that each cell was the habitation of a separate family, and had a tube on the side for its entrance.

The gnou is the swiftest beast that ranges the plains of Africa. The shoulders, body, thighs, and mane, are like those of a horse; the head is that of an ox; and the tail is between one and the other; the legs and feet are like those of a stag; the colour is that of a mouse; the horns curve backwards. The length of the animal, from the tip of the nose to the root of the tail, is nearly six feet. The gnou possesses strength, swiftness, a quick sight, and a nice nose. It has not yet



not yet been tamed. The flesh is not to be distinguished from beef.

The heavy, lumpish figure of the eeland forms a contrast with the elegant figure of the gnoo. The gnoo, when wounded, turns upon his pursuers; the eeland is mild and patient, and so easily taken that he will soon be extirpated. He is the largest and most awkward of all antelopes; in shape, size, gait, and habit, he resembles an ox. A male eeland that we shot was ten feet and a half in length, and six feet and a half in height.

On the plains of the Sea-cow river were countless troops of the common sorts of antelopes; hares were so numerous that they were continually about the horses' feet; and partridges and grouse were so little aware that man was their enemy, that they suffered themselves to be knocked down with sticks.

Lions are said to be numerous, large, and fierce, in the neighbourhood of the Sea-cow river. Here are tow sorts of leopards, or, as the people call them, tigers. We procured a young one of one of these sorts, which instantly grew tame, and was as playful as a domestic kitten. It is said that the fierce lion or tiger, if taken young, is sooner reconciled to a state of domestication than the timid antelope.

I was extremely desirous of forming an acquaintance with the Bosjesmans, which could only be effected by coming upon them unawares; I therefore sent some of my Hottentots to reconnoître the country. One of these returned and said that, from the top of a high hill, he had seen some fires at the bottom of a defile. We marched in silence till we arrived

at the defile, when we galloped up it at full speed, and found ourselves in the midst of a Bosjesmans' village. Our ears were stunned with a horrid scream, and arrows fell near us. I saw the Bosjesmans on the heights, and to shew my peaceable intention, I laid down my arms, ordered my people to do the same, and we turned our horses out to graze.

In a short time some little children came down to us. I gave them biscuits and other trifles, and they returned to their parents. Presently, thirty or forty women and girls came, though not without strong symptoms of fear. I treated these in the same manner, and desired one of my Hottentots, who understood their language, to tell them to send their husbands for a present of tobacco. The men, however, had less confidence than the women; they hovered long on the summit of the hill; and the women had gone and returned at least a dozen times before they could prevail upon one man to come down; and when, at last, one did venture, he approached us trembling, half laughing and half crying, like a frightened child. A large piece of tobacco was immediately given him, and I sent him back to tell his companions that I had a present for each of them. Only three others had the resolution to come down.

When we left the village these three men accompanied us to the waggons, and remained with us several days. I enquired whether they had a chief, but they said every man was master of his own family, and at liberty to remain with, or quit the others, as he pleased. I gave each a large present of tobacco, knives, beads, flints, and steels, and they returned to their village highly delighted.

Well might they be so, for never had they before received kindness at the hands of a Christian. Unfortunate, proscribed creatures, bearing the curse of Cain upon their foreheads ; every man's hand against them ! It was so natural to kill a Bosjesman, that my companions, the Dutch farmers, had some difficulty to refrain from it : I hope that under the government of my country the Bosjesmans will be considered as men.

The village of the Bosjesmans consisted of twenty-five huts, each made of a grass mat, bent into a semicircle, and fastened down between two sticks, open before, but closed behind with another mat. The huts were about three feet high, and four feet wide, and the ground in the centre was dug out like the nest of an ostrich. A little grass, strewed in this hollow, served for the bed of the family, in which they must have lain coiled round. The inhabitants of the village were about a hundred and fifty.

The men were entirely naked, and most of the women nearly so ; yet neither were without a taste for finery. A few of the women wore caps of skin, not unlike helmets ; and shells, beads, or bits of copper, were suspended from their little, curling tufts of hair. All the men had a piece of wood, or a porcupine's quill, run through the cartilage of the nose.

It did not appear that these Bosjesmans greased their skins, any further than by wiping their greasy hands upon their persons. The hair and face of many had been rubbed with red ochre, and a few had the face painted with black.

The tallest of the men measured only four feet nine inches, and four feet six was the middle size :

the tallest of the women measured four feet four inches, and four feet was the middle size ; but we saw a woman, the mother of several children, who measured only three feet nine. The colour of the Bosjesmans is the same as that of the Hottentots. Their cheek bones are high ; their eyes keen, and always in motion ; their nose is flat, their chin prominent, their visage hollow. On the whole, their appearance is between that of the Hottentot and the ape ; being less handsome than the one, and not quite so ugly as the other. Their bodies are uncommonly protuberant before, and as much the reverse behind. The curvature of the spine inwards, and the projection of the part below, in a female Bosjesman is so great, that a section of the body forms the letter S. It has been pleasantly, though somewhat coarsely, said, that the fat of the sheep and the Bosjesman women lie in the same part. The limbs of the Bosjesmans are in general well turned and well proportioned. The klip-springing antelope can scarcely exceed them in leaping from rock to rock, or the horse keep pace with them when running.

The Bosjesmans are undoubtedly a Hottentot race ; and may they not be the descendants of those Hottentots who left their fertile pastures to the Dutch, and retired to mountains and deserts, whither the invaders could scarcely follow them ? May not necessity have given the mild and patient Hottentot activity and talents, while penury has diminished his stature ? and may he not be making reprisals on a robber, when he drives off the cattle of a Dutch farmer ?

The country of the Bosjesmans extends from the third chain of mountains that runs across

Africa to the Orange river, and it is a country more barren and inhospitable than even the Kar-roo. The hardships attendant upon satisfying hunger preclude the possibility of forming large associations: even a family is sometimes obliged to separate, as the same spot cannot always afford sustenance for all the individuals that compose it. Bodily strength alone procures distinction among the Bosjesmans; and this gives such an ascendancy that the weaker is sometimes obliged to resign to the stronger his weapons, his wife, and his children, if he would preserve his life.

The common objects of their pursuit are serpents, lizards, ants, and grasshoppers; their luxuries are the larger animals. They chew the succulent plants with which their barren soil supplies them, and they feed on a bulbous root, about the size of a crocus, which, when roasted, tastes like a roasted chesnut: by them it is called *ok*; by the Hottentots *ow*. They employ the day in seeking their food; and at night they commonly repose in caverns, in holes made in the ground, or under the branches of trees. The man who, with five of his fellows, will devour a fat sheep in an hour, can fast three or four days successively, or will live for months upon bulbs, and not quit the spot till all are consumed. Perseverance distinguishes the Bosjesman. He will pass the whole day in scratching up the ground in search of water; and, if once convinced that is to be found, he will scrape to the depth of six feet to reach it; he then takes a single draught, and each man drinks in his turn.

The courage and dexterity of the Bosjesmans in catching serpents are astonishing. No sooner do they see one of these formidable reptiles on the

level ground, than they set their feet upon its neck, press the jaws fast together with their fingers, and separate the head from the body with a knife, or, for want of a knife, with their teeth. All this is the work of a moment. They take the bag of poison out of the head, and reserve it for their arrows; the body of the serpent they greedily devour. When in pursuit of game, they strew their bodies over with dust, and crawl along the earth on their bellies, never moving if the animal be looking towards them. They will remain in this situation for hours, so that their prey seldom escapes them when once the pursuit of it is undertaken.

The bow of the Bosjesmans is about five feet in length, the string is made of the intestines of animals twisted together, and the whole is a very rough and simple piece of workmanship. The arrow is a strong reed, about three feet and a half long, with a feather fixed to it. At the upper end is fastened a hard, hollow piece of bone, sharpened to a point, or a small triangular plate of iron; in either case it is strongly rubbed over with poison, of a brown colour, and a glutinous quality. When fresh, it is of the consistence of wax, but it soon dries, and becomes hard. It is composed of several substances, the principal of which is always the poison of serpents; but as this is, of itself, too thin, it is mixed with the poisonous sap of the larger species of euphorbia, called wolf's milk, or with a poison extracted from bulbs, or with a poisonous substance that adheres to caverns in the rocks. Though these people know that their poisons are only noxious when taken into the blood, yet they carefully avoid touching them with the hand. They are mixed with a stick, in a hollow

stone that has been previously heated, and with a stick the composition is rubbed on the arrow. The quivers are made of the hollow stem of a large sort of aloe, called from thence the quiver tree; the bottom and the cover are of leather. This is slung over the shoulder by a leathern thong, so that the arrows can be drawn out under the left arm; and by this means a man can shoot five or six times in a minute. All the boys who came to us at the village carried small bows and quivers of arrows.

It is customary for an elderly man to have two wives; that is to say, when the wife of his youth no longer bears children, he takes a young one to continue his family.

The constitutions of the Bosjesmans are much stronger than those of the Hottentots of the colony, and their lives are of longer duration. In every sickness they take off the first joint of a finger, beginning with the little finger of the left hand, as being the least useful. This is practised for the same reason that a vein is opened, or leeches applied, in England.

The Bosjesmans bury the dead, and cover the graves with heaps of stones. Some of the heaps were so large that, on the plains, where scarcely a stone is to be found, it must have been a work of great labour to form them.

The language of the Bosjesmans is of the same nature as that of the Hottentots, though they do not understand each other. The clapping of the tongue is the same, but it occurs less frequently. Several of the Sneuwbergers speak this language fluently, having learned it in their infancy from Bosjesman nurses.

The Bosjesmans have a very intelligent method

of conveying their meaning to each other by signs and gesticulations, and they have great dexterity in managing signals. In the night, by means of fires on the summits of the mountains, they will indicate to their comrades the number of a herd or flock they mean to plunder, and the means of defence employed to guard it. Their sight is so acute, that they perceive objects at a distance which no European can see without glasses.

Within memory, the Bosjesmans frequented the colony openly, begged, stole, and were troublesome; but never attempted the life of any one. Since that time, expeditions have been made into their country; they, and their wives and children, have been dragged into slavery, and inhumanly treated; and, in retaliation, if they seize a Hottentot while guarding his master's cattle they put him to death with every means of torture they can devise. Even the animals they steal are kept without food or water till they are wanted for use, or till they drop down with hunger. The latter, indeed, may not be the effect of barbarity; for either their country may produce no grass, or they may be afraid to trust stolen cattle on the plains.

When a party of Bosjesmans is surprised by the farmers, and they see no chance of escaping, they fight furiously, to the last man among them; and it frequently happens that they will rush upon certain destruction, by throwing themselves in the midst of the colonists, to give their wives and children an opportunity of escaping, and their concealed countrymen of wounding their enemies with their poisoned arrows. If they are pursued in carrying off their plunder, they divide; one



party driving away the cattle, the other harassing their pursuers ; and if the latter are vanquished, the former stab and maim the cattle.

When one Bosjesman in a community feasts, they all partake ; when one fasts, they all suffer. When they bring in a herd of cattle, they slay such numbers, that the village becomes a heap of putrefaction. The three who accompanied us to our waggons had a sheep given them about five o'clock in the evening, and it was wholly consumed before noon the next day. They ate, without sleep, and without intermission, till they had finished the animal, by which time their lank bodies were so distended that they looked less like human creatures than before. Their beverage was more disgusting than their gluttony ; for, having cut the throat of the sheep, they opened the body and let the blood run among the entrails ; then, cutting these with a knife, they poured in a quantity of water, stirred all together, and drank the abominable composition with great relish.

If the Bosjesman endure many hardships, his persecutor is not without a share. In the pursuit of these people the farmers sustain hunger and thirst, heat and cold, fatigue, and wounds from the poisoned arrows. These are not mortal ; but, by injudicious treatment, they frequently bring on complaints which terminate in death. Some farmers are prudent enough to carry with them cupping vessels, to draw out the poison, sweet oil, to wash the wounds, and vinegar to drink. The Hottentots wash their poisoned wounds with a mixture of urine and gunpowder ; and it is observed that they seldom die, unless they are wounded very severely.

## CHAPTER X.

ORANGE RIVER. BRUYNTJES HOOGTE. GRAAF  
REYNET TO ZWAARTE KOP'S BAY.

**H**AVING joined our waggons on the banks of the Sea-cow river, we proceeded to the first poort, which is an opening in a cluster of hills through which the river passes. From the north side of the Sneuwberg to these hills, we had travelled over a flat country; here it began to be broken, and blue mountains appeared in the horizon to the northward. The following day we reached the second poort, or pass of the river, into which waggons cannot enter, the hills being now lengthened out into a chain.

The next day we proceeded on horseback through the chasm, which was about fifteen miles in length, and so narrow, and the river so serpentine, passing from side to side, and winding round rocky points, that we crossed it a hundred times. At length we fell into a large beaten track of the hippopotami, which carried us, through reeds and shrubs, and shallow parts of the river, to the end of the pass. Here also was the end of the Sea-cow river; its tranquil waters forming a confluence with those of another river, which rolled rapidly to the north-westward over a rocky bed, and which, though it had lately subsided twelve or thirteen feet, was now about four hundred yards broad, and very deep. All the rivers of the colony, collectively, could not equal its bulk of

water. There can be no doubt that this was the Great, or Orange river, which runs into the sea on the western coast, and we were not less than five hundred miles from its mouth.

We traced the Great river to the eastward during four days. Its breadth was from two to five hundred yards. In several places the inundations had extended more than a mile from the river; and in others there were marks of its having risen forty feet above its ordinary level.

In the level parts of the country the river glided over the most beautiful pebbles; striped, spotted, figured opals, cornelians, chalcedonies, and agates, rounded, and smoothly polished by the current. In whatever part we approached the river, hippopotami were snorting and playing in vast numbers. In several places we saw baskets very ingeniously contrived for taking fish, and other fishing tackle of the Bosjesmans, who had doubtless been disturbed by our coming. Deep holes were also made, and covered over in the paths of the hippopotami, which made it dangerous to ride along them.

We now left the river, and turned to the southward, travelling over a flat country, with fine grass, little water, and no wood; and the following day, after marching ten hours, we arrived at a part of the chain of mountains to the east of the Sneuwberg and the Compassberg. The mountain here was called the Zuureberg, or Sour mountain. The waters here also take opposite directions; those on the north join the Orange river; those on the south the Great Fish river, thus flowing to the Atlantic and Indian oceans.

I had frequently been informed that, among the animals portrayed by the Bosjesmans, was the

unicorn ; and one, in particular, was said to be in a kloof of the Zuureburg ; I therefore made an excursion across this mountain. Drawings we found in several places, but not of the unicorn. At the foot of this mountain we killed a wild hog, one of the most vicious, cunning, and ugly animals in the creation. Long ivory fangs project from its mouth, and bend upwards ; and fleshy bags, hanging from each cheek, look like an additional pair of ears.

The next day we directed our course to the eastward, and pitched our tents in a plain abounding with eelands and springboks. The springbok does not reside in the mountains, where he might be easily caught, but in open ground, where he leaps, frequently above six feet high, and several yards in length, and the instant he touches the ground after one spring he rises for another. These antelopes sometimes emigrate in such numbers as scarcely to leave any herbage on the ground over which they pass. Nothing intimidates or obstructs them on their march. If the farmers fire among them, they pursue their rout ; and lions, and other beasts of prey follow the herd, and make great havock among them, without obliging them to alter their course. Five thousand of these travellers form a moderate groupe ; ten, twelve, or fifteen thousand being often assembled together.

Continuing our journey to the eastward, we entered the deserted division of Tarka, under a lofty mountain of the Nieuwveld range, called Bambos berg : we then turned to the southward. In one of the mountains we saw a cavern filled with drawings of elephants, rhinoceroses, and hippopotami,

with one *camelopardalis*, an animal that is only found to the northward of the Orange river.

At some of the deserted farms in the Tarka, we found vineyards loaded with grapes, peach, almond, apple, and pear trees, full of fruit, and vegetables of various kinds thriving without any attention. We saw here a flight of the locust-eating thrush that continued to pass over our heads, like a cloud, for fifteen minutes.

We made a long excursion into the Tarka mountains for the purpose of what might be termed hunting the unicorn. Under a projecting ridge of rock were several sketches of animals and satirical delineations of the colonists in ridiculous situations and attitudes; but the grand object of our research was wanting. We continued to explore the kloofs of the mountains; the country people being as anxious to prove the truth of their assertion, as I to discover the similitude of an animal of such uncertain existence; till, at the bottom of a deep cave covered with drawings, we did find the representation of a horse's head and neck with a single horn. The body and legs were hidden by the figure of an elephant that stood before him.

As all the other animals delineated by the Bosjesmans are known to exist, it is a presumptive proof that this exists also. The Bosjesmans have no idea that the existence of the unicorn is doubted; and the farmers take it for granted that it is to be found beyond the colony. Ignorance believes too much, learning may believe too little; the unlettered swallow falsehood, the man of science may reject truth.

Having passed over a rough, mountainous coun-

try, in which fine mimosas were in full bloom, and honey was hanging in clusters from almost every rock, we came to the Bavian's or Baboon's river.

From this river I once more entered Kafferland, and ascended the Kaka, which is a continuation of the most southerly range of the Nieuveld. The summit commanded a view of the sea-coast on the south, and beyond the residence of the king on the south-east; the level plains of the Kat and Kaapna rivers lay at our feet. Some of the trunks of the yew-trees were from twenty to thirty feet in circumference, and from sixty to seventy feet in height. On entering one of the narrow vallies we seemed on a sudden to be in the midst of a shower of snow, which, upon examination, we found to be myriads of white ants upon the wing.

The sparrow, the swallow, and the titmouse, which, in Europe, where there are no serpents or monkees to fear, make open nests, in Africa form them with tubes, or fence them with thorns. If the name of reason be denied to this faculty, some other must be given it that has nearly the same signification.

From the Bavian's river one day's journey brought us to the fertile division of Bruintjes Hoogte. The district of Agter Bruintjes Hoogte is bounded on the east by a considerable mountain called the Bosch berg, or Bush mountain, from its being overgrown with wood. In the midst of this rises a high ridge, which is properly the Bruintjes Hoogte, or Height of the little Browns, a name that was given it by a Hottentot chief established here, in derision of the first Dutch settlers. As this district was colonized from Gamdeboo, the farms on the western side of the mountain are

called *Voor*, or *Fore Bruintjes Hoogte*, and those on the eastern *Agter*, or *After Bruintjes Hoogte*. This place is notorious for the turbulent spirit of its inhabitants, who, at this distance from the seat of government, have acted independently of its authority. They are strong, robust, and resolute. The deliberate coolness of the women knows neither obstacle nor fear. They are equally skilful with their husbands in the management of horses and fire-arms, and they never retreat on the appearance of danger. I saw among the colonists in this division a woman, healthy, unmarried, and under forty years of age, who had not been able to move from her bed for twelve years, on account of excessive corpulence. Her arm, above the elbow, measured two feet, within a quarter of an inch, in circumference.

From Bruintjes Hoogte we descended to the arid and extensive plains of Camdeboo, which, toward the west, are lost in the great Karroo, and have all the characteristics of that country; but, naked as these plains appeared, antelopes were plentiful. Here are also found a great variety of those small quadrupeds which burrow in the ground, and are called by the colonists meer-cats: of this sort are the musk-cat, and the tiger-cat. Here is likewise a beautiful little ground squirrel, about eight inches in length, of a dark chesnut colour, with a white stripe on each side, from the shoulder to the flank.

The plains of Camdeboo extend from Bruintjes Hoogte to Graaff Reynet, which is a journey of three days. They are intersected by the Bly, the Vogel, the Platte, and the Milk rivers, in their passage from the Sneuwberg to the Sondag. The

Balearic crane was seen near the Milk river, and guinea-fowls near all. Bee-eaters, with their beautiful plumage, — creepers, still more brilliant, — king-fishers, and wood-peckers, were seen fluttering among the mimosas of the river Sondag.

All the species of swallows in the colony are birds of passage. One of these, with a red spotted breast, builds its nest in the habitations of man; and in many of the farm-houses small shelves are nailed against the beams for that purpose. It is commonly asserted, and, from what I have observed in my own country, I have no doubt of its being true, that the same birds return to their places, and generally on the same day.

From the plains of Camdeboo I arrived again at the Drosdy of Graaff Reynet.

It is difficult for an European to form an idea of the hardships to be encountered in travelling over such plains in the hottest season of the year. Not a blade of grass, not a green leaf is to be seen, and the stiff soil reflects the heat of the sun with such force that a man may congratulate himself upon his horse raising him some feet above the surface.

The African horses, though they have less strength than those of Europe, travel a long time in this intense heat, without either food or water. It is, however, customary for the riders to dismount at intervals; when the saddles are taken off, and the animals are suffered to roll upon the ground, and stretch their limbs. This they do with evident delight; and after they have risen and shaken themselves, they go for a time much refreshed.

My next excursion from Graaff Reynet was to the south, passing still through the division of Camde-



boo. On the first day we passed two farm-houses, on the second two, on the third two. In these three days we crossed the Sondag river nine times, and every time in danger of overturning the wag-gons; we now quitted it altogether, and encamped on an arid plain without water. This part of the district is called the Zwaart ruggens, or Black ridges. Except in the plain of our encampment, we had scarcely a hundred yards of level ground in the space of forty miles; and the road over the ridges was constantly ascending, or descending, over large fragments of loose stone, or ledges of firm rock.

On the fourth day we passed through a narrow opening between two long ranges of hills running east and west. We reached this path by a winding road of smooth yellowish sand without a stone, bordered on either side by the tallest and choicest African plants. Among these were many species of the aloe, some throwing out their clusters of flowers across the road, and others rising in spikes of blood-red blossoms fifteen feet in height. The Riet berg, or Reed mountain, in the back ground, was covered to the summit with a wood of aloes, with spikes of pink flowers.

Having passed the chasm, we crossed a plain six or seven miles in breadth, and encamped at the Wolga fonteyn. For three days' journey from this place the road lay through a country diversified with bold hills, gradual swells, and plains, entirely covered with a forest of shrubs. Sometimes, for the distance of ten or twelve miles, there was not an opening in which we could turn a yard to the right or the left. Nothing could be more beautiful; but, when night came on, its beauty

vanished, and its inconvenience was felt. There was no space proper for the tent and the waggons; no space proper to make fast the oxen; and, worst of all, there was no water. Our cattle tasted water only once in the three days; though the thermometer was from 75 to 80 degrees in the shade. We had a nightly concert, composed of the roaring of lions, the howling of wolves, the bellowing of buffaloes, the yelping of jackals, and the lowing of our frightened oxen.

On the evening of the seventh day, we encamped on the verdant bank of a lake, about three miles in circumference, and six from the sea. The water was perfectly clear, and as salt as brine. The bottom was, for the greatest part, a solid mass of salt as hard as a rock. This is one of the lakes known by the name of zout, or salt, pans; to which the colonists resort for the purpose of procuring this valuable article.

On the borders of the zout pan we found encamped a farmer and his whole family, consisting of sons and daughters, grand-children, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, and dogs. He was removing to a new habitation, and the rest of his moveables were stowed in two waggons. He advised us to make our oxen fast to the waggons at night, as two of his horses had been devoured by lions the night preceding. This royal beast, like many other royal personages, does not merit all the praises that have been bestowed upon him. He does not always attack his prey openly, but frequently lies in ambush; nor does he spare a sleeping creature, but takes his prey as he can find it.

On the evening of the eighth day, we arrived at Zwaart Kops bay, from whence I returned again to Graaff Reynet.

## CHAPTER XI.

## GRAAF REYNET TO THE GREAT, OR ORANGE RIVER.

**H**AVING made the several excursions from Graaff Reynet of which I have already given an account, I quitted it for the last time, on the 11th of May, determined to reach the Great river by the shortest way, and proceed beyond it as far as I should find it practicable.

After crossing an extensive plain, surrounded by hills, we ascended the Sneeuwberg, and as I now travelled in a family waggon, drawn by horses, belonging to one of the farmers, I dined at a farm-house about twenty miles north-west of Graaff Reynet, and passed the night at a farm-house about the same distance from the former. On the second day of the journey we reached Magis fountain; on the third, after travelling along the banks of the Buffalo river, we arrived at another house; and on the fourth day, in less than three hours, we reached a place called Three fountains, the habitation of the next farmer.

In the morning I walked to the top of some hills, and, except a small portion of cultivated land near the house, the surrounding country produced only heath and bushes. In the afternoon we left Three fountains, and, being drawn by eight excellent horses, we travelled at the rate of seven miles an hour, and in two hours arrived at the dwelling of the next farmer, where we remained the whole of the following day.

On the seventh day we came to a house, which, though not at the boundary of the colony, was the last habitation of white men. I saw here a female Bosjesman sixty years of age, and only three feet nine inches in height; and I saw some Bosjesman prisoners, who had been pursued, after having stolen a yoke of oxen, and who were taken while devouring one of them. Among these was a man who had long been the terror of the neighbourhood, and who, though often taken, had always found means to escape. He was known among the colonists by the name of the Beardman, he being the only one of his countrymen ever seen here with that appendage to the face. When he was asked why he was so addicted to theft, he pointed to his body, which hung together in folds, and taking a part of it in his hand, he drew it out to its utmost extent, to indicate how much it would hold: then, without waiting for an answer to this demonstrable reason for his depredations, he asked for something to eat!

Behind the house was a small hut composed of reeds, the habitation of an old blind Bosjesman. I found him asleep, lying on a sheep-skin, which served him for mattress and apparel, and constituted the whole furniture of his hut. I asked myself a question which I did not propose to him, — “Could life have any charms for such a being?” Without internal resources, and apparently deprived of every external means of enjoyment, he was probably yet attached to life by some cord unknown to me. I told him, by a Hottentot girl, my interpreter, that I hoped the condition of his countrymen would be improved under the British government; but he intimated in a very significant

manner that, coming from a white man, he would not believe it till it took place.

After halting some time, we proceeded on our journey, and left behind us the habitations of civilized men. At night we halted among low hills, in a place that the farmers who accompanied me said abounded with lions. Here we remained the whole of the following day. Among many adventures between the colonists and these tremendous animals, I shall select two.

Two brothers, Tjaard and John Vander Wolf, farmers in the Sneeuwberg, followed the track of a large lion, and found him in a ravine overgrown with brushwood. They stationed themselves on each side the entrance of the ravine, and sent in their dogs to hunt him out. The lion rushed towards John, crouched to make a spring at him, and was, at the same instant, shot by him. Unfortunately, the shot only grazed the ear, and one side of the breast; and the animal, after having been stunned for some seconds, recovered, and rushed towards his enemy, who had barely time to leap on his horse and endeavour to fly. The lion was instantly after him, and sprung upon the back of the horse, which, overpowered by the burden, was unable to move. The enraged animal tore the man's garment with his teeth, and stuck his claws into his thigh. The man clung with all his force to the horse, that he might not be torn off, and, at the same moment, hearing his brother galloping after him, he bade him fire, not regarding whom or what he might hit. Tjaard instantly dismounted, and taking aim coolly, shot the lion through the head, the ball lodged in the saddle, without hurting either the horse or the rider.

The other encounter I shall relate as nearly as possible in the words of the man to whom it happened, a farmer of the name of Van Wyk, who lived near the extremity of the colony. "It is now more than two years ago," said he to me, "that my wife was sitting within the house, near the door, and the children playing around her, and I was without, doing something at a waggon; when suddenly, though it was mid-day, an enormous lion came up, and laid himself quietly down in the shade, on the very threshold of the door. My wife, frozen with fear, remained motionless in her place; my children took refuge in her lap. The cry they uttered attracted my attention, and I hastened, unarmed as I was, towards the door. The animal had not seen me, and, scarcely knowing what I meant to do, I stole softly to the back of the house, and reached the window of my chamber, where I knew my loaded gun was standing. By a most happy chance I had placed it within my reach, for you may observe that the aperture of the window would not have admitted me. From this window, the chamber door being open, I had a full view of the groupe at the outer door. The lion was beginning to move; I had no time to think; and, telling the mother, in a low voice, not to be alarmed, and calling upon the name of the Lord, I fired my piece. The ball passed immediately over the hair of my boy's head, and lodged in the forehead of the lion, just above the eyes, which seemed to shoot forth sparks of fire: it stretched him on the ground, and he never stirred more."

On the ninth day we proceeded on our journey, having now no road; and, as our track would be

long visible, we endeavoured, for the convenience of those who might come after us, to travel in the most level and direct way in our power. We passed the night at Buck's fountain.

On the tenth day from Graaff Reynet the farmers took leave of me, and returned home, while I, with my own waggons and my own people, entered the country of the Bosjesmans. We travelled across a plain from the time of an early dinner to the setting of the sun, when we came to water that had been collected in holes in the rocks during some late rain. Some of my stragglers brought me here three young Bosjesmans whom they had met with. Their countenances were more lively and interesting than those of the Hottentots, and one of them said he should like to see the country, and would accompany me to the Great river, if I would leave him in his own country on my return. I gave the other two some food for their father, who, they said, was lodging in a hole among the rocks at a little distance, and they left me, carrying with them pieces of lighted wood, to keep off the lions. The frost was so severe during the night, that the water in the bottom of a large dish was completely frozen.

The next morning I was visited by the Bosjesman family, which consisted of the father, the two other sons, and the wife and child of the one that was with us. The mother of the young men remained in the cave where they had passed the night. These strangers sat during the whole time they were in my camp, without once rising, being employed in cooking and eating meat; and when the waggons set off, the one who had engaged to accompany us rose up, and took his place in one of

them, without bidding his friends farewell. Each had a quiver of poisoned arrows, and a jackal's tail at the end of a stick to wipe the sweat from the face.

Had not the young Bosjesman been with us, it is probable that we should have found neither water, grass, nor wood for fuel. We saw not a blade of grass during this day's journey, but a little after sun-set this young man led us up a narrow pass between two hills on our right, to a small valley, where we met with all the three. We called the spring Hardcastle fountain.

On the third day from entering the desert, we proceeded through a pass nearly north, having the Kombuis mountain in full view, at the distance of seven or eight miles. Towards evening, attended by three armed Hottentots and my Bosjesman, I walked forwards in search of water. The Bosjesman said that there was no fountain in this part of the country, but that, in consequence of the late rains, water would probably be found in cavities at the foot of the hills. Water was found, but no grass; grass, indeed, forms no part of the concern of a Bosjesman, as he has no cattle.

Soon after our fire was lighted, my three horsemen arrived with a qua-ka which they had shot. They cut it up immediately; I tasted the flesh, but not being a Hottentot, I could not eat it. While they were in pursuit of a herd of eelands, they saw five lions in company, and the lions followed the example of the eelands in running away. I did not hear of the men pursuing them, so I imagine they were running away from each other.

On the fourth day of travelling in the desert there was still no grass; yet there was abundance



of the bulbous root on which the Bosjesmans feed. During the last three days we had been gradually ascending ; we appeared now to have reached the summit, for a most extensive view opened before us, and I thought it probable that we should continue to descend to the Orange river.

To the westward are some groupes of mountains called the Karree mountains. I have not seen them ; they are said to be in the forms of tables, towers, and cones, with barren and intricate vallies between, that have not been trodden by a human foot, except it be the foot of a Bosjesman. They form a sort of mountainous ocean, without rocks or woods, bushes or blades of grass, extending, from east to west, as it is said, six days' journey. The summit of the Komberg is only on a level with the vallies of the Karree mountains.

My Bosjesman was generally eating or sleeping ; but he was now running with remarkable speed after the advanced party that was in search of water, and at three o'clock in the afternoon we saw a smoke arise before us, which was a signal that it was found. At four we arrived at the spot, and were gratified with the sight of water and grass. I had felt much for the oxen, which had fasted nearly two days. Observing four lions a little to the eastward, I sent eleven men to drive them away, and we saw them no more. Excepting these, we saw neither beasts nor birds during the day.

At night I sent for my Bosjesman into my tent, and, with the aid of a Hottentot interpreter, the following conversation passed between us. I asked what he thought was the worst thing a man could do. It was some time before he could be

made to understand the meaning of the terms bad and worst ; for he had never heard that one thing was worse than another, and, like a child, he found it difficult to compare their different merits. When he appeared to have some idea of this, I enquired if he had ever witnessed any quarrels. He said that his people often quarrelled ; and when their quarrels ended in killing each other, it was " fine, good sport, shewed courage." He said that all their quarrels were about their wives ; one was for having the wife of another ; but he did not think this was bad. Being asked whether he would think it bad for another to take his wife while he was with us, he exclaimed, " Bad ! bad !" and added that it was fine to take the wives of others, but not to take his wife.

I then asked my Bosjesman what was the best thing a man could do. He replied, " All my life I have seen bad and not good, and therefore I cannot tell." Here the man, who would almost have run a race with an ostrich, without fatigue, was weary of mental exertion ; he reverted to his cap, and said that was bad. I asked whether his father had given him any advice before he quitted him to attend me. He answered, " My father said I was going with strange people, and must be obedient, and perhaps I might gain something ; and, while I was with them, he would take care of my wife and child, and when I had got education, and returned, I should be able to teach them."

Another evening I asked my Bosjesman the following questions.

" What do you think the most wonderful thing you have ever seen."

"I do not think one thing more wonderful than another? all the beasts are fine."

"If you could have any thing you wished for, what would you desire?"

"I would have plenty of knives, beads, tinder-boxes, cattle and sheep."

"What people besides yourselves have you ever heard of?"

"I have heard of the Caffers, the Dutch, and the English, but I have not seen any English. The Dutch came and attacked us, I know not why, and killed ten men, women and children."

"What kind of food would you like to have every day?"

"Bread, and sheep's flesh."

Probably my Bosjesman had never seen bread before he came to my encampment; he was remarkably fond of it; but this did not alter his appetite for worse provisions. One of my hunters having wounded a qua-ka so as to lame it, the Bosjesman leaped from the waggon, threw off his sheep-skin, and ran towards it. With all his force he threw a stone, which sunk into the forehead of the animal; he then drew out his knife, and stabbed it. When dead, he cut a large slice from the loin, with the skin upon it, and deposited it in the waggon, where I permitted him to sleep the whole day. This poor young man was in the habit of smoking wild hemp, which stupifies and disposes to sleep.

On the fifth day of our march we came to an extensive plain, abounding with game. This was our larder, and among the provisions it contained for our table were two eelands, one of which weighed seven, and the other five hundred

pounds. The qua-kas came among our cattle as they were grazing, and fed quietly with them ; a proof that they were seldom pursued.

The horses of the colonists, when well trained for hunting, are no sooner put in pursuit of one particular object, than they follow that, and that alone, with a constant, steady gallop, which, by degrees, wearies out the animal. When they are got within a proper distance, a signal from the mouth of the rider is sufficient to make them stop while he takes his aim. If that shot fail, the horse waits patiently till the piece be loaded again, and then resumes the chase with the same steady perseverance. If the rider dismount to take aim, the horse stands perfectly still ; the rider may even rest his gun on his back or neck, and be assured that he will not move.

We continued to travel among low bushes, in search of grass and water, without finding either, till seven in the evening, when the weary oxen lay down to sleep.

On the sixth day we had not advanced more than a few hundred yards, when, to our great surprise and joy, we reached the Brakke river. It now consisted only of a chain of pools, but the water was good. We were proceeding by its side, when we saw a smoke on one of the hills on the left, which my Hottentots said was a signal that my hunters had shot an eeland, and wanted assistance to carry it off : accordingly we ascended, with the waggons, towards the place from whence the smoke arose. Unfortunately, my Bosjesman mistook our purpose ; for, either supposing we meant to attack a community of his friends, or were

going to introduce him to his enemies, he left us, unobserved, and we saw him no more.

On the seventh day we proceeded to a plain, which, viewed in every direction, was fatiguing to the eye, as nothing was visible but short bushes of a dull black hue. We traced the bed of the Brakke river, in a north-west direction, till evening.

During the eighth day the waggons several times narrowly escaped falling into pits made by the Bosjesmans for taking wild animals. These are five or six feet deep, with a poisoned stake placed upright at the bottom, and the mouth is concealed by a slight covering of branches strewn over with grass. At the place where we arrived at sun-set, the Brakke river ceased to have a bed; the ground being flat, the river must, in the rainy season, spread over it, and become a lake.

On the ninth day we found water left by rain that had fallen two days before, and at night we again discovered the Brakke river; but its water was now thicker than the thickest soap-suds.

On the tenth day in the morning, ice, about the thickness of a dollar, was on the pools. No more water that could be drank was between us and the Orange river, which was more than forty miles distant, and we halted at night near water as salt as that of the sea.

On the eleventh day we resumed our journey before sun-rise, and travelled among tall grass, which, together with the sand, rendered it very fatiguing. At nine o'clock the plain over which we had been marching for several days, became contracted, the ground rising on either side. At

ten the bushes became larger, and low trees appeared at a little distance. We passed some Bosjesmans' huts formed of branches of trees, but they were without any inhabitant. We left the Brakke river, the water of which still continued salt, and travelled due north; at two o'clock, at the summit of a long ascent, we had a view of the Great river. We all admired its grand and majestic appearance; but we found it at a greater distance than our wishes had led us to imagine; for it was not till three that we reached its banks, and eagerly drank of its pure waters. Neither the steepness of its banks, nor the thickets with which they were covered, prevented the cattle from approaching them; and when their thirst was satisfied, they had thousands of acres of long grass before them. The river was deep and rapid, and as broad as the Thames at London-bridge.

We had been twenty-one days in travelling from Graaff Reynet, twelve of which had been occupied in passing the desert country of the Bosjesmans; and from the day we entered this, when we met with the family of the young man who attended me, we had not met with one human being.

On the following day, as we were preparing to march up the river to reach the ford, we were joined by a converted Bosjesman chief, with nine of his people, mounted on oxen, and others on foot. This gentleman had once been a resident of the missionary settlement on the northern side of the river; but he had quitted it for the convenience of having two wives. At sun-set we arrived at the ford called English ford.

To ford the river here was now impracticable.

ble, and I waited three days in hopes its waters might fall. On the last of these, some of my Hottents crossed to try its depth; but they effected the passage with great difficulty on account of the current. Having learned that there was a ford a few days higher up the river, I proceeded towards it the next day, and travelled three hours. We stopped at the village of the Bosjesman chief, as it lay in our way, and I visited several of the huts. Scarcely anything was to be seen in them but a fire; yet the inhabitants seemed cheerful and contented. We attach many of our ideas of content to the word *home*, and the home of a Bosjesman seems little calculated to afford it; but the whole country is his home, and his habitation is only his place of eating and repose. In one of the huts five or six young people were scrambling among the ashes for roasted bulbous roots, and devouring them as they were found.

The next day, my friend the Bosjesman chief drove thirty oxen from the other side of the river to assist me in crossing. The stream carried them down with great rapidity, the distance of a quarter of a mile; but all succeeded in getting over, except one, which returned, and could not be made to enter the water again. Two men followed the oxen on what the Griquas, or people of the settlement, call a wooden horse, which is a thick branch of a tree, with a long pin driven into it. On this log they lie flat, and force themselves forward with their feet, as in swimming. A third man crossed the river on a real horse; but, for a considerable time nothing was seen above the water, except the heads of the horse and his rider.

On the following day we proceeded on the bank of the river. On our way, we observed the recent foot-steps of an uncommonly large lion; such, however, I was informed, were very common here. We were much annoyed by a bush very significantly named, *Stop a while*. Its branches are full of thorns in the form of a fishing-hook, and if they take hold of the traveller's garments, he *must* stop a while, and sometimes a long while, before he can proceed. In clearing one arm, the other is caught, and, without the assistance of a second person, there is no escaping from it but by main force. At night we arrived at the ford, which is called Read's ford.

Morning arrived, and with it the time for crossing the Great river. One of the Hottentôts entered it on horseback, to ascertain its depth, and passed it without much difficulty. I then entered it in my waggon, with three mounted Griquas on each side the oxen, to prevent them from turning out of the way. My people and cattle followed, and all arrived safely in Griqua land, the territory of the settlement of Anderson, an English missionary. Immediately on our quitting the river, its waters began to rise, and it soon became impassable.

We pitched our tents on the northern bank of the river, and remained there during the following day, when I was visited by two Bojesmans. I gave them first tobacco, and then meat, and while they were smoking and eating, I amused myself with observing their persons and actions.

I have allowed the validity of a Bojesman's claim to the honour of the human figure; but I must confess that one of these, who appeared to



be about fifty years of age, who had grey hair and a bristly beard, whose face was covered with black grease, except a semicircle below the eyes, where the tears occasioned by smoking had washed the skin ; this man had the true physiognomy of the small Cafferland ape. What added to the resemblance was, the vivacity of his eyes, and the flexibility of his eyebrows, which moved up and down with every change of countenance. Even his nostrils, the corners of his mouth, and his ears, moved involuntarily on his sudden transitions from eager desire to watchful distrust. When a piece of meat was offered him, he snatched it hastily, and stuck it into the fire, peeping round with his little keen eyes, as if he were afraid it should be taken from him. He soon took it from the embers, and tore out large morsels with his teeth. When he came to the sinews, he had recourse to a knife that was hanging round his neck, and holding a piece of meat between his teeth, he cut it off close to the mouth ; a feat of dexterity that a person with an European countenance could hardly have performed. Of the bone, when divested of its marrow, he made a tobacco pipe, the smoke of which he inhaled with great satisfaction, and then gave it to his companion. They both seemed much amused at my viewing them with such attention.

## CHAPTER XII.

ORANGE RIVER TO LATTAKOO. ACCOUNT OF THE  
BOTCHUANAS.

**T**HE next day we quitted the Orange river, and arrived at Griqua town, which is a long day's journey to the northward.

The Grikwas are chiefly of the mixed race called Bastards ; but since they have assembled as a Christian community, finding that the majority of them were descended from a person of the name of Griqua, they have assumed that name, and given it to the district they inhabit. The number of people in the town, and the out-posts connected with it, amounted to 1266 ; and the number of the original inhabitants of the country, the Korana Hottentots. under their protection, and occasionally attending for instruction, was 1341.

I paid a visit to Anderson the founder of this Christian establishment. His habitation was a hut, but larger than the usual size, and perfectly neat and clean. In the centre was a table, and round about were some chests and coffers that served for seats ; some English prints were hanging from the roof. The bed was shut up by a curtain drawn across the room. The features of the missionary were fine, and his eye beamed with a spirit of piety and resignation, that gave him the aspect of a saint.

Anderson said that his great object was to keep the institution fixed, and for this purpose he was

endeavouring to excite a taste for agriculture. Shares of from five to six acres of fertile land were allotted to those who had industry enough to cultivate them. One Griqua had a neat house built with wood and bricks; many had gardens; but tobacco held a distinguished place in them all. But many of the Hottentots found it more convenient to acknowledge their sins, and express their hopes of mercy, than to labour for their subsistence. Anderson, himself, said that the most lazy and worthless among them were those who talked the most about religion.

The behaviour of the Griquas was modest and respectful, their linen was white and clean, and several of them were dressed like the common people in England.

It was my intention to proceed to the people till lately known to the colonists by the name of Briquas, but who, since they have been visited by my countrymen, are comprehended under the general name of Botchuanas. The missionaries had already penetrated into their country, and, with great difficulty, I prevailed upon one of them, John Matthias Kok, who had lived four years in it, to become my guide.

On the 15th of June I quitted Griqua town. A little before sun-set we saw four lions to the right of our path. On approaching them they turned and looked towards us; but as they seemed willing to let us pass unmolested, we did not molest them. In the evening we halted at Ongeluk's fountain, one of the out-posts of the Griquas.

On the second day we travelled along a valley bounded by two ranges of hills about ten or twelve miles distant from each other. The soil was red.

earth, now covered with tall withered grass, the prickly seeds of which worked their way through our clothes to our skin, and occasioned much pain. We passed the night by the side of some tall thorny trees ; but the place afforded no water.

On the third day at sun-rise the thermometer was at 84°, and at noon 70°. After travelling three hours, we reached John Bloom's fountain, so called from a colonist who had lived there, and whose memory was execrated both by Christian and Heathen. Here my missionary expected to meet, on their return from the Botchuanas, two Hottentots, who had long followed him; but, to our great sorrow, we found only their wives and children, who were lamenting the death of their husbands and fathers. On enquiry, it appeared, that on the third day of their journey, they had been joined by a party of Bosjesmans, who begged the offals of the game they had killed. For some time these intruders behaved peaceably ; but a herd of sixty oxen was a temptation they could not withstand ; they watched an opportunity, stabbed one of the owners with a hassagay, shot the other with poisoned arrows, and with shouts drove away the herd. I gave the mourners some provisions, and sent them, under a guard, to the out-post we had quitted.

We passed the night with some uneasiness on account of the Bosjesmans ; for, soon after sunset, a dog, which we knew to be a Bosjesman's dog, was discovered in our camp. When any person approached him, he ran away, but, attracted by the scent of our cookery, he soon returned, and if a piece were thrown to him, he swallowed it with incredible voracity. These dogs have a

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striking resemblance to the black-backed fox of the country, or, as he is commonly called, the jackal, and are probably descended from him. They never bark ; but whether this be natural, or they be trained to silence is not known. At the return of day it was discovered that five or six Bosjesmans had been lurking in the vicinity of our camp, and that, in some places, they had been lying flat on the grass within a few paces of the waggons.

John Bloom's fountain is in latitude  $26^{\circ} 27'$  south.

In the morning we arrived at the foot of a conical hill called Blinklip, or glittering rock. The base consists of an iron clay, sometimes of a rose colour, at others of a brownish yellow, mingled abundantly with crystals of mica. This substance makes a shining powder for the hair of the Botchuanas, and for this purpose great quantities of it are taken by them from this spot. On the eastern side of Blinklip is a cavern, which we entered with lighted torches. We proceeded to a spacious, lofty, arched room, sparkling with chrystals, and from this issued six or eight other caverns. In exploring one of these we found the fresh dung of a lion, and we did not think proper to intrude further into his apartment.

Travelling from hence along a plain, one of my Hottentots directed my attention to two tall swan-necked camelopardalises that stood almost directly before us. My transport was indescribable ; the gigantic creatures did not perceive us, and I had time to examine them. One was smaller, and of a paler colour than the other, and was pronounced to be its offspring. We separated, and prepared

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for the chase. I had got nearly within shot of them, when they observed me and fled. I followed; but their figure, their motion, was so extraordinary, that, in my astonishment, I forgot my purpose, and recollection was lost in observation. I soon, however, put my horse into a gallop, and sprang towards the largest of these wonderful figures; while he, who probably had never before been interrupted by a human being, stopped, and viewed me with an eye of curiosity. My hunter had by this time got before them and fired; the old one fled, and the young one fell.

As night was coming on, we all united in cutting up our prize; the skin and the skeleton of which we carried away, together with some pieces of the flesh: the rest we very reluctantly left to the Bosjesmans, whose fires were already seen on the neighbouring hills. At a place called Tamanay fountain we passed the night, under the shade of some camelopardalis mimosas, which protected us from the sleet that fell, but melted upon the ground.

We remained here half the following day, the fifth from Griqua town, that we might arrange our booty. The skin of the camelopardalis, when cleaned and rubbed with spices, was spread over the tilt of one of the waggons; the long neck reaching to the middle of the shaft, and the feet almost touching the ground. The height of this young animal from the toe to the tip of the horn was thirteen feet four inches; the neck was more than five feet in length; the leg, from the toe to the top of the shoulder-blade, was nearly eight feet; the hind leg six feet and a half; the length of the body to the beginning of the tail seven feet. Each

step of the *camelopardalis* clears from twelve to sixteen feet ; but its gallop is heavy and unwieldy. We dined on the flesh, which was tender, white, and well flavoured.

On continuing our journey, a chain of hills running north and south was to the eastward of us. We passed the night at the Great Kosie fountain in a small wood of the *camelopardalis mimosa*, in many places of which the branches were bent to the ground, and fastened with small pins ; broken arrows were also scattered about ; proofs that the place had been recently inhabited by the Bosjesmans.

On the morning of the sixth day the ground was covered with a hoar frost, and the ice was half an inch thick. As we proceeded, some of my hunters rode forward ; and towards evening they rejoined us with the intelligence that they had killed a very large male *camelopardalis*, entirely of a dark brown colour. Kok assured me that he had never seen a larger or a handsomer, and he thought it could not be less than twenty feet in height. They had covered the animal over with bushes, and suspended a handkerchief from a staff, to keep off the wild beasts ; but alas ! this was only a signal for wild men ; for, on arriving at the spot, we found nothing but the entrails. We could trace the footsteps but of four men ; yet they had carried off a *camelopardalis* that must have weighed at least a thousand pounds ! How gladly would I have given them the flesh if they would have left me the skin !

At midnight we reached the foot of the hills that form the boundary of the Botchuana country on the south-west, and early the next morning,

the seventh of our departure from Griqua town, we saw the promised land stretched before us, which filled my heart with joy and expectation.

From the fountain at which we halted I walked to the source of the Krooman river, which was only three miles distant. It was the most abundant spring of water I ever had an opportunity of examining. I measured it at the distance of a yard from the rock out of which it flowed, and found it nine feet wide, and from fourteen to eighteen inches deep. After a course of fifty or sixty miles it loses itself in the sand. I entered the cave from whence it proceeds, which is at first narrow; but it soon opens to a central room, with a roof like a dome: from this, four passages branch out in different directions, with streams of water in them all. In the afternoon we pursued our journey in a north-west direction, and in the evening two Matchappee Botchuanas joined us, and sat by our fire at night. They were tall, well-shaped, and of a dark copper colour.

On the eighth day, after travelling among long dry grass, sometimes as high as the backs of the oxen, we came to a fountain of excellent water situated in an immense plain. Here, on the shortest day of the year, we saw the sun set about a quarter before five o'clock. Our days resembled fine summer days in England, and our nights those of winter. In the day we had almost constant sunshine, in the night almost constant moon or star light. The paths were narrow; the inhabitants of the country walking, as wild geese fly, one behind the other.

We had, during three days, been travelling on a plain without any apparent termination; but at



three o'clock on the ninth day of our journey from Griqua town, a distant hill appeared before us, due north, at the foot of which was said to stand the city of Lattakoo. In the evening we halted near a fountain of excellent water.

The next day, at twelve o'clock, we entered upon the last stage to Lattakoo. At one we met four young men, about sixteen years of age, who had lately been circumcised. Their faces were painted with regular streaks of white, their bodies wholly with red, and their hair was powdered with the shining powder. They carried hassagays on their shoulders, and wore brown cloaks made of skins, with a round cat-skin sewed between the shoulders, which gave them the appearance of soldiers with knapsacks. At two we came to inclosed fields. In half an hour we ascended a rising ground; many foot-paths were seen, all running to the north-east, which indicated our approach to the city. At three we arrived at the summit of a hill, and saw at once Lattakoo stretched before us, lying in a valley between hills, and extending from three to four miles.

Such was the situation of the capital of the Botchuanas, but if any of my readers should be disposed to follow my steps, he may possibly not find it there; for it had already occupied two other situations since it was first visited by Europeans, each nearer to the Orange river than the present. When the riches of a people consists of their cattle, they must dwell in a country that affords pasture, and remove as this decays.

Of the ten days we had spent between Griqua town and Lattakoo, fifty-six hours had been passed in actual travelling.

On descending the hill towards this African city not a person was to be seen, except two or three boys; and when my waggon arrived at the entrance of the principal street or lane, no inhabitant appeared, except one man, who made signs for me to follow him. As we proceeded amidst the houses, it seemed as if the town was deserted, till we were conducted into a square inclosure, occupied by the king's officers and guards, and were followed by hundreds of men, women, and children. All greeted Kok in the most friendly manner, till, to free himself from their importunities, he enquired for the king. On this they made way, and pointed to the spot where Moolihawang was advancing slowly and solemnly towards us.

A tall man, about sixty years of age, with features strongly marked, now approached us, followed by four others about the same age; who, we afterwards understood, were his counsellors. They were all clothed in large mantles, and wore rough, high-pointed caps. While I was considering what might be the proper mode of saluting a king of the Botchuanas, he held out his right hand in silence, and touched mine; then turning to Kok, whom he greeted as an old friend, he took both his hands, and pressed them eagerly.

I conducted Moolihawang to my tent, and told him by Kok, my interpreter, that my intention in coming hither was to pay my respects to him, to offer him a few presents, and to see his country. He answered, with some dignity, that he had no objection to strangers visiting his country, if they came with pacific intentions, and that any one would be particularly welcome who was brought by his friend Kok, whose return, he said, was a proof of his "white heart." To my great joy I

discovered that, owing to my diligence by the way, I comprehended the general sense of what was spoken by the king, and the whole of what was spoken by Kok, my instructor. During this conversation, the former threw open his mantle, and displayed a profusion of ivory rings upon his arms, both above and below the elbow; he had also necklaces, from which were suspended amulets of bones and other materials.

The king was attended by two of his sons, one of whom, who was heir to the throne, appeared about thirty years of age, and had a very pleasing and intelligent countenance. All the men wore a sort of petticoat of shining tanned leather, which reached from the waist to the middle of the thigh, with sandals of thick leather, and leathern thongs twisted round the legs; but the knees, and the body, except when covered with the cloak, were naked.

I presented pipes of tobacco to the king and the princes, who squatted down and began to smoke; each, when he had taken in a few long draughts, handed the pipe over his shoulder to one of his attendants, who, in his turn, gave it to another. When the king retired, he mentioned to Kok who attended him, his desire that any delicacies of food I might present him with should be given him in private; since, if his people knew of his possessing them, he must share with them the smallest trifle.

While my interpreter was absent, I summoned up all my knowledge of the language to answer the crowd that remained. They repeated, with astonishment, a hundred times "Moonto si booa Botchuana!" — the man speaks Botchuana! —

then began talking to me with such rapidity and vivacity that I was obliged to be silent lest I should betray my ignorance. I remarked that no women were of the party, and was told that they were at home, and must work.

The next morning we waited upon the king. We passed through a tolerably wide street, formed partly by houses, and partly by hedges that inclosed the folds for cattle. The houses were of a circular form, with conical roofs; the circle of posts that composed them being united towards the bottom by a thin wall of loam, and left open towards the roof for the admission of light and air. As both the houses, and the inclosures between them were placed in all situations with regard to each other, the streets had no regularity either in their width or their direction. At the doors sat many women and children, who looked quietly at us as we passed.

The king received us in a large quadrangular space, fenced round, and pointed to a great tree, as his seat of authority. I delivered my presents, which consisted of brass wire, glass beads, large steel buttons, some knives, and some tobacco. Some wheaten bread and European pulse I had sent the night before. I asked the king whether he was satisfied with the missionaries who had visited his country. He said that he knew very little of them; he believed they were good people, and he had no objection to their returning; but, above all things, he wished Kok to remain with him, as he was well acquainted with husbandry, and had already given his people some useful instruction. After this, Moolihawang listened with little attention, and I found it was

time to depart, which I did, after having asked; and obtained, permission to walk in the town.

We were conducted through a labyrinth of little alleys, large squares, and broad streets, till we came to the quarter in which stood the principal houses. These have a smaller circle partitioned off within, from the centre to the back of the house, which is appropriated to the use of the master, while the outer part is occupied by the family. The posts that formed the outer circle were about nine feet in height, and the circle was from sixteen to twenty feet in diameter. A sort of pantry, or store-house, five or six feet high, was often added at the back of the house. Every house was inclosed by palisades, and in the space between these and the dwelling were placed earthen jars, containing the store of grain and pulse. Each jar was about five feet high, and capable of holding two hundred gallons; each stood upon a stool with three feet, made also of baked clay; and each had over it a circular roof of thatch, supported by poles, at a sufficient height to admit of an opening at the top of the jar.

The city of Lattakoo was divided into a great number of quarters, separated from each other, each having a headman, and an inclosed square for public resort. I visited more than twenty of these, and did not see half of them. In one, some persons were employed in stretching skins upon the ground, and fastening them down with pins; others in rubbing the insides with rough bones, a process which gives them the appearance of woollen cloth. Some skins were extended, and covered with cow-dung, to tan them. Four men were making cloaks, which they did by sewing skins

together with an awl, something in the way practised by shoemakers in England. In other squares men were employed in making knives, hassagays, axes, adzes, and bodkins from iron; or rings for the legs, arms, ears, and fingers from copper. Every headman, soon after I entered his square, took me to his house, and presented me with boiled wheat, or with thick milk porridge made with ground wheat.

At the dwelling of one of these chiefs his two young wives were sitting together in front of the house, within the inclosure. One of the ladies had at her side a wooden bowl containing red chalk mixed with grease, which she spread on the palms of her hands, and then rubbed carefully over her skin: the other was rubbing the shining ointment on her hair. The husband, though also painted red, had a noble appearance. His figure and countenance were dignified, and his fur robe was elegant. The house was neat and clean. No filth, of any kind, is seen about the houses, or in the town.

When a family wishes to sleep in the day time, which is often the case, two flat stones are placed on the outside of the door, as a signal for none to enter.

There appeared to be about 1,500 houses in Lattakoo. Allowing five persons to each, which is perhaps too small a number, it must have contained 7,500 inhabitants. It was said that there were also belonging to this tribe of Botchuanas more than a thousand out-posts, where men and cattle were stationed. Kok, who had travelled northwards from hence, and visited the tribes of Moorroohlong and Matsaraqua, assured me, that

their principal towns were so extensive that they could scarcely be included in one view.

The Lattakoo first visited by Europeans was in latitude  $26^{\circ} 30'$  south, and longitude  $27^{\circ}$  east; the present city was about three days' journey to the northward, and about 900 miles from the Cape.

The next day I gave a dinner to the king and the princes. To amuse them I shewed them several European works of art, among which they were particularly pleased with a burning glass. As some paper was set on fire by it, the king eagerly exclaimed, "Muteelo leetshaati!" — fire from the sun! At dinner I gave him a wooden chest as a seat, and placed myself by his side. He now and then handed something from his own plate to those who stood near him, or sent it to those at a distance by his valet, who was waiting at his side. He remarked among the crowd Molala, his fourth son, a beautiful youth of sixteen, and called him to come and eat with him.

The king took great pains to learn the use of the knife and fork, and soon managed them tolerably well; but the princes took out their own knives, and, putting the meat between the teeth, cut off the morsel close to the lip. The king drank three glasses of wine; but when a fourth was offered him, he declined it with thanks, adding that he was not accustomed to such liquors, and was afraid of being intoxicated.

I inquired after the monarch's wives, and remarked that I had not seen any of them. He said they would be very glad to visit me, and ask me for presents. He then enquired whether, like Kok, I had only one wife. I answered that, as yet, I had not any; but that, by the laws of my country, I could not at any time have more than

one. He said it was incomprehensible to him how a whole nation could voluntarily submit to such an extraordinary law. He had five wives, and children by them all ; his relation Masjouw, king of the tribe of Muruhlong, had ten wives eight years ago, and, by this time, it was probable he had several more. When the king rose from table, he sought out a retired spot, where he laid himself down on the ground and slept, his counsellors sitting in a circle round him, and his valet waving a long bunch of ostrich feathers to keep off the flies.

I now displayed different articles of European merchandize, and entered into trade. Necklaces, rings, ear-rings, and hassagáys, were eagerly exchanged for tobacco ; oxen could only be had for iron, silk, or linen cloth. Great offers were made for a file and a saw ; but these could not be parted with. I offered beads, nails, and cloth for a cloak very neatly made ; but I was told that such a cloak was never sold except for live cattle ; I therefore commissioned one of my Hottentots to purchase two oxen, and with these I bought the cloak. I have seen a cloak composed of forty cat-skins.

Numbers of women were among the crowd ; the first ladies of the city offered their arm-rings and ear-rings for tobacco ; and children of eight or nine years of age made most significant intimations that they wanted snuff. The women behaved with the same freedom as the men, but with great modesty ; and Kok assured me that the only way to gain their esteem was to treat them with respect.

When the king returned, he brought with him two of his wives, and leaving them with us, he re-



tired. Makaitscoäh, one of these ladies, was his third wife; she was about twenty-two years of age, had a fine form, and regular features. The other, who was named Marani, was the last wife; and scarcely fifteen; her eyes were animated, but her countenance had a little of the negro cast. Their high rank might be inferred from their dress. Their cloaks were composed of alternate stripes of the skin of the jerboa and the genet cat; round the body was a piece of leather finely tanned, which was fastened with straps over the shoulders; from the hips to the knee, before and behind, hung leathern aprons; the legs were wound round with leather, and on the feet were sandals. They wore a profusion of necklaces of glass beads, cut bones, and small plates of copper, and the lower part of the arm was ornamented with a number of rings, made of brass wire with the hair of the camelopardalis twisted round it. Makaitschoäh had on her left arm no fewer than seventy-two of these rings, and she was exceedingly pleased with my taking notice of, and counting them. She had also a bunch of grey cat's tails fastened on the left shoulder, and hanging very ornamentally over the cloak before and behind. Her hair was divided into small locks, which were rubbed with the shining ointment, and hung down from the crown of the head like silver cord. The king had taken Makaitschoäh from a low station on account of her beauty and understanding; Marani was the daughter of the prince of a neighbouring tribe.

I had tea prepared in my tent, but this beverage was not to the taste of my visitors; they were, however, delighted with wine. Our conversation

turned upon the situation of the female sex in Europe, and Makaitschoäh shewed much quickness of apprehension and good sense. She often understood Kok, my interpreter, before he had done speaking. Among other things she observed that our law, which admitted of only one wife, would not suit the Botchuanas, because the women were so much more numerous than the men, the latter being killed in the wars. One of the ladies asked me for some snuff. I told her that I did not take snuff. "Then," said she, "you have the more to give away." On seeing European works of art, both ladies evinced their delight by repeated bursts of laughter. When about to take leave, they gave me a hint that I must make them some presents. I abundantly satisfied them in this particular, and in return they gave me some of their necklaces and arm-rings.

The next day I visited the king, and found him at dinner in a corner of the inclosure. The distinction of royalty seemed to consist in being seated next to the pot, and in the possession of a spoon with which his majesty helped his friends to the boiled beans it contained. One of his daughters was employed in cutting to pieces a dried paunch, and putting it into another pot; and another daughter was adding to it some morsels of meat. It would have required a good appetite in an Englishman to dine with the king of the Matchapee Botchuanas. These people eat with relish the flesh of elephants, lions, leopards, and qua-kas.

We next visited Makaitschoäh, who was surrounded by four children, the two eldest of whom had the head, the ridge of the nose, and a circle round the eyes, dyed with yellow ochre. In this,

and some other transient visits that I made where there were children, I could but remark the attention to cleanliness, and the trouble it cost the mother, where the sole covering was leather.

We then visited an old man who had travelled to most of the other Botchuana tribes, and who gave me the population of each compared with that of Matchapee; but when he came to the Macquini, the most remote of all, he took up a handful of sand, and letting it run slowly through his fingers, he repeated frequently, "Itzintzi,"—much.

On my return to my encampment, a man brought me two boys of eight and ten years old for sale. They had been taken by him in war some years before, and were his absolute property, he possessing even the power of putting them to death. He demanded a live sheep for each, and said he was very desirous to sell them as he had nothing for them to eat. These unfortunate children I was obliged to leave to their fate; but a woman, whose husband had deserted her, and her two children, a boy and a girl, who were all three perishing with hunger, I had the satisfaction to take with me and establish at Griqua town. The boy was called "Senehai,"—no home; the girl, "Se-rebaal,"—child forsaken.

I now began to prepare for my return. Moolihawang was sorry that we were going to leave him, and said it was mortifying that I should depart before he had time to form a friendship with me. I partook of his mortification, but much of the tour of Africa still remained, and I could not devote to friendship the time I had determined to pass in travelling.

The Botchuanas are Caffers, and that they have the same origin as the Koussa Caffers appears from their language ; for if a Koussa and a Botchuana were to meet, I imagine they would understand each other ultimately, though perhaps slowly. The experiment is not likely to be tried, since neither nation knows any thing of the other. The Botchuanas are in general less tall and robust, and less daring and determined, but more civilized and ingenious. Under the names of Botchuana, Sitshuana, and Mutshuana, are to be included the different tribes of these people, who inhabit the country to thirty or forty days' journey northwards. To the west the same latitude is inhabited by tribes of Hottentots.

There are nine principal tribes of the Botchuanas : all speak the same language, and have nearly the same manners and modes of life. Of these tribes, the most distant to the north-east, and the most numerous, is that of the Macquini, from whom the other Caffer tribes receive their metals. The Macquini are equally known to the Koussas and the Botchuanas : both call them by the same name, and their country is the most remote known to either. They both procure from it hassagays, knives, needles, ear-rings and arm-rings, in exchange for cattle ; but this traffic passes through four or five intermediate hands. The metals are said to be dug out of a vast mountain, one side of which affords iron, the other copper.

Till John Bloom's appearance, it was the general opinion that the existence of white men, the rumours of which had reached the Botchuanas through the Macquini, was a fable. Makrakki, the king of a neighbouring tribe, who often had

expressed a wish to see a white man, and was ridiculed for his credulity, triumphed when Bloom appeared. Even now, some of the common people took an opportunity of washing my white servant at a fountain, believing that they should find him of the same colour with themselves.

These people are so rich in cattle, that one man is sometimes in possession of eight or ten considerable herds, each herd of a different colour. They have goats which furnish the fine skins for their aprons and under garments, but they have no sheep, an animal which is but lately known to them. Fish is held in utter abhorrence by them. They drink water unwillingly, preferring the juice of the water melon and other fruits. They are unacquainted with the practice of producing a fermented liquor from their corn ; but they are fond of wine and brandy when given to them.

There are two propensities in mankind which I would gladly believe acquired rather than inherent ; but they are so general that I fear I must not indulge that opinion, I mean the love of intoxicating substances, and the love of fighting. The first of these propensities is, as far as I know, peculiar to man ; the second he has in common with the animal creation.

I believe that the desire for fermented liquors, tobacco, opium, and hemp, does not proceed so much from a wish to gratify the palate, as a wish to forget real troubles, and supply their place with agreeable sensations. But this indulgence once practised, habit becomes necessity, and the real state both of the mind and the stomach are insupportable.

With regard to the disposition to attack our

neighbours, I have seen it in men and horses, dogs and cattle, cats and cocks. I have seen bloody battles between doves, and mortal contests between red-breasts. I can only say it is painful to see it.

The Matchappee women cultivate the ground, and the wives of the king are not exempt from a share in this labour. The instrument they use in digging is a kind of pick-axe : they sing while at work, and strike the ground with their axes according to time. Women build the houses, and six women can build a house of a common size in a week.

The water with which the town is supplied is brought from some springs about a mile to the westward, by the usual carriers of this element, women ; from fifty to a hundred of whom are to be found there from morning to evening.

All the servants of the rich are prisoners that have been taken in war ; and the greater number of men a person has killed, the higher his character rises in the estimation of his countrymen. Death is the never-failing punishment of those who have betrayed their country in war ; and this is inflicted by the hand of the sovereign, who runs the criminal through with a hassagay as he lies upon the ground. The king is the executioner of his other sentences, and instances have been known of his almost scourging people to death for robbery. During our stay at Lattakoo not one article was stolen, except two buttons, for which theft the culprit was driven from the public square.

The king has no outward mark of distinction ; but the people have a certain veneration for his

person and every thing about him. He receives the breast and tongue of every ox that is killed, and of every animal taken in the chase. He has also that other prerogative of royalty, a right to the teeth of elephants, and the skins of lions and leopards. He chooses his counsellors from among the most distinguished of his people, and commonly takes their advice on the subject of peace or war, though he has power to determine it by his sole will. One of my people overheard the king say of myself, "This man was born before us.—He knows more than we—he makes us dumb."

After a successful war, every man who has slain an adversary is conducted at night by the priest, into an inclosed place with a large fire in the centre; the other men and the women remain without. Each of the warriors brings with him a piece of the flesh and skin of the person he has killed, having the navel in it; each thrusts his morsel into the glowing embers, and, when it is roasted, eats it. This custom does not arise from any taste for human flesh; on the contrary, these people abhor it, but it proceeds from a belief that it renders them courageous and invincible. After this horrid repast, the priest makes a cut down the thigh of each warrior, from the hip to the knee, with a sharp hassagay, and the cicatrice remains as an indelible proof of his victory. The ceremony concludes with a dance, which lasts till sun-rise. One of the king's counsellors had eleven of these marks of honour, and I saw several persons with five or six.

A Matchapee general, named Mateere, went, with a party, to the north-west, on a plundering

expedition, and traversed extensive deserts, destitute of water ; but water-melons, which were found in abundance, supplied its place and afforded food. After a journey of five months, they reached a people called Mampoor, who resided near a great water, across which they could see no land, and on which they observed the sun to set. They saw the people go on the water in bowls, which they pushed forward with pieces of wood that they put into the water. Mateère, who himself related to me the story, said the Mampoors were a peaceable and unsuspecting people ; that he murdered many of them ; and that the rest fled, and left him to carry off their cattle without molestation. Glory and interest combined were irresistible ; and several other expeditions, equally glorious and advantageous, had since been made by the Mat-chappees against this unoffending people.

The Botchuanas believe there is a great Being that is the cause of all the appearances in nature, and the origin of all the good and evil that happens to themselves ; but they say they do not know him, having never seen him. For the good, he receives their thanks, and for the evil they are not sparing of their abuse ; but the missionaries had not yet been able to persuade them that any kind of worship was acceptable to him. The name of this being approximates nearly to that of their king, the former being called *Murimo*, the latter *Murina*. With regard to the origin of mankind, they say that two men came out of the water, the one rich, having abundance of cattle ; the other poor, having only dogs : the former lived by his cattle ; the latter by hunting. I asked a Botchuana for what purpose man was



made. His answer was, "To go on plundering expeditions." If the purpose be agreeable to the universal practice, he was not much mistaken.

The Wantketzens are the next tribe to the northward, and through them the Matchappees obtain their copper. The Matchappee Botchuana make elastic rings of brass wire, which is beaten flat till it is of a thinness almost incredible; this is a work of infinite labour. The poorer sort wear heavy copper rings, and those who cannot afford even these, wear rings of leather, cut from the skin of the rhinoceros or hippopotamus.

It is not uncommon to wear the caul of a fresh killed ox round the neck, and let it remain till it drop off. This custom is probably for mourning, and has been mentioned by a former writer as practised by the Hottentots; but this writer has been charged with asserting falsehoods, because succeeding travellers found this and some other customs fallen into disuse.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## RETURN TO THE ORANGE RIVER, AND THE CAPE.

**H**AVING taken leave of the King of the Matchappee Botchuanas, at noon, on the 7th of July, my waggons began to move from Lattakoo, surrounded by a gazing multitude. The two princes, who had dined with me, accompanied me a short distance in one of the waggons, as they wished, they said, to go in such a house. They then took a most cordial leave of us, reminding Kok that he was expected to return speedily and remain in the country. I looked back towards the city as long as it was visible, and did not leave without regret the most civilized and ingenious people I had seen in Southern Africa. Eight Botchuanas accompanied us as guides.

We passed three different places where many cattle were feeding among high grass, and herdsmen were attending them, and we halted for the night by the side of a wood. Our course had been first east, and then north-east ; our road had been on a gentle ascent, with a hilly country on the north and south ; the country before us had the appearance of a corn-field, bounded by the horizon.

In the morning we killed a female buffalo and her calf, and roasting and devouring the flesh found employment for my Botchuanas. While sitting by the fire, they were cooking with one hand, and feeding themselves with the other ; and

when they had left the fire, they were picking a large bone as they walked.

On the third day from Lattakoo, our way lay among tall grass and bushes. Having been continually ascending, we were now on high ground. We passed the night at a village of Botchuana Bosjesmans, called Marabay, from a fountain of excellent water near which it is situated. The village consisted of ten huts in the form of inverted basons.

On the fourth day we travelled along the Marabay stream, on flat rocks resembling pavement, till it joined a river coming from the south-west, by which junction was formed a considerable stream.

On the fifth day, crossing the plain in a south-east direction, we found a hundred people gathering roots for food. They had quitted the city after us, and had arrived before us, having come a nearer way over the hills. Both parties were glad to meet. About a mile farther we came to the entrance of a pass between hills that divides the country of the Botchuanas from that of the Koranas. A small village of a mongrel race between the Matchappees and Bosjesmans was situated at the mouth of the pass. The dwellings were of the form of half an egg, with the open part exposed to the weather, and so low that they were scarcely seen among the bushes. The appearance of the inhabitants indicated extreme wretchedness; their bodies were covered with dirt ornamented with spots of red paint. The pass ran three miles in a north-west direction, and opened into a romantic square, inclosed by hills

with patches of wood. At the east side of the square lay the town of Malapeetzee, containing fifty-six huts, and about three hundred people. The river Makkara! ran near.

The inhabitants of Malapeetzee, who are Koranas, gazed upon us with a mixture of fear and astonishment, and stood in groups at a distance soon after our arrival. They possess two thousand cows here, and as many at two other stations; they live almost entirely upon milk. In stature they are shorter than the Botchuana's; in colour lighter. They appear from their countenances to be people of talent; but from their riches in cattle they have few wants, and are therefore indolent. They procure their hassagays and skin cloaks from the Matchapees. Our guides now took leave of us, and I obtained seven Korana guides in their place.

I had heard of the river Malalareen, and was persuaded that it would lead me to the Orange river; I therefore requested my Koranas to conduct me to the Malalareen. We set out towards the south; the country was open, but rough and rocky, with low hills to the east and west. We passed the night near the deep rocky bed of a river, in which there was no water.

At sun-rise on the seventh day we ascended a hill, and on reaching the summit, one of the most beautiful countries I had seen in Africa opened to my view. The hills were ornamented with trees, the valleys resembled the finest parks in England, and forests appeared in the distance; but what was most essential to thirsty travellers was, that the Malalareen river was winding at the foot of the hills.

We looked at each other as if a new world were before us.

We descended the hill, and at nine o'clock we reached an establishment of Bosjesmans. The men, supposing we were enemies, hastily turned out and faced us, prepared for battle: the chief held up his bow, and jumped into the air with a view to intimidate us. I made signs that we were friends, and they laid aside their weapons.

After conversing a short time with the chief, whose name was Makoon, I stepped to his hut, and, stooping down, looked into it. I never shall forget the terror depicted on the countenances of his two wives; had I been a lion, they could not have expressed greater alarm. I took out my watch, opened it, and held it towards them: it was evident they took it for some dangerous creature, for they almost overturned the hut in escaping from it. I then carried my watch to Makoon, who shrunk back on my holding it near his ear; but recollecting himself, he would not betray a want of courage before his people, and he ventured to listen. On observing that the chief was not injured, others listened, and all admired. I then presented them with some tobacco. This brought the ladies out of the huts, and both they and the men sat down to smoke. Makoon's two wives were about four feet in height, and each had a very small infant tied to her back.

I asked Makoon whether he would choose to receive missionaries to instruct him. He replied, "I shall be very glad if any person will come to my country to teach me and my people what we do not know. I have many people there," (point-

ing to the eastward). Makoon had probably heard of the depredations of some of his countrymen, and, desirous to efface from my mind any suspicions I might entertain of him, he added, "We are peaceable men ; so were my father and his father ; they never stole any thing from their neighbours ; we have plenty of game and water."

Makoon was a man of good understanding, and here, in my opinion, he gave the history of the Bosjesmans.—We are not naturally ferocious, or addicted to plunder. While we were suffered to enjoy our game and water, we were peaceable and honest ; but when we were driven to deserts incapable of supporting us, we stole the cattle of our invaders for our sustenance ; and when we were hunted like wild beasts, we endeavoured to destroy those who murdered us and made slaves of our children. Makoon, the peaceable Bosjesman chief, seemed to possess nothing but his bow and arrows, and the skin cloak that covered him.

At half-past two we took leave of Makoon, and crossed the Malalareen. We proceeded south, and south-west, and at night halted on the banks of the river, where we were visited by a Bosjesman family.

On the following day we shot a gnoo about the size of an ordinary cow. I gave a part of it to my seven Korana guides, and then dismissed them. These men had all very significant names, one of which was Kaeen-de haree, Lively sunshine ; another Mookha, Sharp-sight. The country on the opposite, or eastern side of the Malalareen, was beautifully covered with trees, and the prospect was bounded by low and distant hills. The thermometer at sun-rise was at 27°, at noon 76°.

The next day we crossed the river twice, and did not reach it again till ten o'clock at night, when we encamped on its banks.

On the following day, the tenth from Lattakoo, we crossed to the eastern side of the Malalareen, and entered a beautiful level plain. Here we shot a gnoo, and when it was being cut up two Bosjesmans approached with great timidity. I gave them a large piece, for which they were very grateful, but, not fully assured of their safety, they held their bows and poisoned arrows while they were cutting it. Our course to-day was south-west, and in the evening we again fell in with, and crossed the river.

On the eleventh day, at noon, we arrived at the Yellow river, at the spot where it receives the Malalareen. The Yellow river was here considerably larger than the Thames above the tide, and the spot was one of the most charming in the world. Our course had continued south-west. Here we rested the following day.

On the thirteenth day we proceeded on our journey, and the Yellow river taking a turn many miles to the southward we quitted it, and passed the day without water. Morning discovered that we had taken up our lodging in the midst of a forest, with mountains in every direction : the cattle had found water in a corner among the hills. Some Bosjesmans came and informed us where we should next find it. Eleven camelopardalises were seen, but none were taken. At noon we halted near a fountain of excellent water, and then pursued our way through a forest : our course south-west.

On the fifteenth day we arrived at the Missionary

village of Campbelldorp, where we were kindly received, and supplied with milk, which we had not tasted since the day we left Lattakoo. Two miles farther we came to the Missionary village called Great fountain, containing about thirty inhabitants, who seemed to live as one family, for a large pot was on a fire in the open air, containing as much flesh of the quaka as would dine all the people. Five languages were spoken in this little community — the Dutch, Korana, Botchuana, Hottentot, and Bosjesman. The Bosjesmans were to assist in cultivating the ground, and to receive a part of its produce.

On the day but one following I rode down to the river, and kept close to its bank. The day was fine; the broad stream glided silently along, the banks were ornamented with trees, and small parties of cattle, sheep, and goats, were visiting its waters to allay their thirst. In an hour we came unexpectedly upon a Korana village, situated in a beautiful hollow, close by the river, and containing from sixty to seventy persons. In another hour I arrived at the confluence of the Yellow and Alexander rivers: both were large, but the former had the pre-eminence. I had a view up the latter for about two miles, and its rising banks, covered with trees, had an elegant appearance. The scenery was so beautiful that I left it with reluctance; but there was yet another river to see, and I reached it before night. The scenery of this was still more beautiful, and the river, the Cradock, was still larger than the Alexander. Both these rivers flow from the south-east; the Yellow and the Malalareen from the north-east; and the four join to compose the Great, or Orange river.



On the nineteenth day from our leaving Lattakoo we arrived at Griqua town, after an absence of six weeks. The time passed in actual travelling from Lattakoo to this place was about a hundred hours.

We left Griqua town on the 9th of August, accompanied by a number of Griquas, and proceeding to the westward, on the evening of the second day we arrived at the Missionary village of Hardcastle, eighteen miles north of the Orange river. Morning discovered the beauty of the situation, in a valley not more than three miles in circumference, surrounded by asbestos mountains of diversified forms. I ascended the rocks, and found between their strata asbestos of Prussian blue, gold colour, green, brown, and white. The blue, by being beaten, becomes of a soft texture like cotton. Thirteen Koranas, mounted on oxen, arrived at Hardcastle to attend divine service on Sunday.

The Bosjesmans, throughout the country, lay claim to the honey, and mark the nests as the farmers mark their sheep; and if they find, in their regular visits to their store, that a nest has been robbed, they carry off the first cow or sheep they meet with. They say that the Koranas, the Matchappees, and Morolongs, have cattle and sheep which live upon the grass of the land; and that they, who have not, have a right to the bees which live upon the flowers. This right is not invaded, because all find it their interest to let the Bosjesmans take the honey, and to purchase it of them.

From Hardcastle we travelled in a northern direction, and on the second day arrived at the

Missionary village of Rowland Hill dorp. On leaving this, we travelled due north for two hours, and then westward, over a desert of sand, till after midnight. When day-light appeared we found, to our great mortification, that the fountain from which we expected water was dried up. We were two days' journey from the Orange river, which was the nearest water; but it was necessary to travel two days' journey in one.

At noon, with the thermometer at 80°, we began to cross the Vansittart mountains, which form the western boundary of Griqualand. On clearing them we entered a desert of sand, which, commencing at the Orange river on the south, runs northward to an unknown extent. Many a melancholy groan proceeded from the thirsty oxen, while dragging the waggons through the deep sand of the desert, and many an anxious eye was directed towards the quarter in which we expected to find the Great river. All was dry sand, scantily interspersed with small tufts of withered grass. At midnight the cry of River! River! made us forget our toils. We had been ten days in coming from Griqua town, forty-three hours of which had been passed in actual travelling.

Exactly opposite the spot where we halted, the river was divided into four channels by three islands. This is considered as a good place for crossing, and we began our preparations in the morning. The bank we had to descend was forty or fifty feet in height, and nearly perpendicular, and we employed ourselves in cutting a road for the waggons. By two o'clock all was in readiness, and the waggons were got down without any accident. The first channel of the river was com-

pletely dry, and we travelled with ease to the western point of the first island, which was about the distance of a quarter of a mile. We then came to the stream, which was about 300 yards wide, and the current very strong. Two men on horseback first entered the water; then an ox carrying on his back the materials of a house, and above these a little naked boy; then the loose oxen, sheep, and goats; then the waggons; then eight or ten Griqua women, most of whom had children on their backs, riding on oxen; then several men mounted on oxen, and holding women by the hand, to assist them against the current. I observed one little boy holding fast by the tail of an ox the whole way across the river, and screaming violently where the current was strong.

We now walked to the western point of the second island, and crossed the next arm of the river, which was about 200 yards over. We then came to a third island, and having walked across this we entered the last channel of the river, and landed safely on the southern shore. Here the greatest difficulty seemed to remain, for we landed in a thicket on a level with the river, which appeared impenetrable for waggons. After much examination we found an opening, and after surmounting many obstacles, we reached the extremity of the wood. We encamped in a hollow surrounded by trees, within hearing, though not in sight, of the Orange river. The ravages of time afforded us abundance of fuel. On seeing generations of trees piled upon each other, I reflected on the passing generations of mankind.

One of my Hottentots, who, with two of his companions went in search of some strayed oxen,

had nearly perished with thirst. He felt as if fire were on his back, and was saved by frequently thrusting his head into the middle of a bush to inhale the moisture, while those who were with him dug up cold sand which they laid on his back.

We now began our journey down the Great river, and passed a party of Koranas, who had just arrived at the spot, and the women were employed in raising the huts. I observed one very aged woman, who was blind, and whose skin did not appear to be united to the flesh, but rather resembled a loose sheet wrapped round her. The country was interesting from the variety of the hills within view, and the windings of the Great river, but all was either sand, gravel, or covered with stones, and the heat was oppressive. We crossed the dry beds of several rivers, the steep sides of which were very troublesome, and we passed the second night under the thick spreading boughs of what is called the white-hole tree. The natives frequently sleep on the top of this tree to avoid the lions. On such an occasion a Hottentot, while asleep, fell from the tree, and happened to fall upon a lion that was sleeping at its foot: happily the lion was frightened, and ran away, and the man regained his former situation. The air was so drying here that the ink in my pen, and the colours in my pencil, were almost dried up before they could touch the paper.

On the third day we were obliged to quit the river to get round some hills which we could not get over. The way was uneven, with stones and pieces of marble scattered about, and we had to cross six times the bed of a river with steep sides. About sun-set we approached a Korana village

called Filp Kraal, containing about 150 inhabitants; near this we passed the night. These people neither sow nor plant, but they possess numerous herds and flocks. They brought us plenty of milk to barter. A brown plain, without any visible termination, appeared on the opposite side of the river.

On the two following days, during which we travelled only five hours; the way was as rugged as before, While sitting at dinner on the last of these, a whirlwind carried my tent up in the air, and covered my food with sand. The next day, the sixth of our journey down the course of the river, having travelled four hours over stones and through red sand, we turned the range of hills, and again reached the river. The plain on the north of it still continued. We passed several spots where tobacco had been planted, but we saw no inhabitants to gather it.

On the eighth day we arrived at a village of six houses, in a small square surrounded by trees. The inhabitants were about forty in number, and the chief was a Bastard Hottentot; they were rich in cattle, and supplied us with abundance of milk.

On the ninth day I walked by the side of the river, while the waggons were obliged to make a circuit round some hills. In the evening we went one of the worst stages of the whole journey. Sometimes the wheels sunk to the axes in the sand; at others the ground was so covered with large stones, that we paused to consider what was to be done; but, after looking round in every direction, we found there was no choice of road. Providentially we arrived at our resting place without any material injury.

We were now within one stage of Kok's Kraal, and as the waggon way was very circuitous, I rode on an ox by the river side. This way was almost impassable even to oxen, being over hills, and covered with rocks; however, in two hours I arrived at the village, which was situated in an extensive plain, scattered over with tufts of grass, and bounded on every side by low hills. The majority of the people were Orlams, though some were seceders from Griqualand, who had retired here for the sake of having a plurality of wives. This village, including thirty Bosjesmans, contained 425 inhabitants.

Kok related that he had been up the country to the north of the river five or six days' journey, without finding water, and that he and the party that was with him had lived on the water-melons, which were every where scattered over the ground, and which, after being roasted, yielded good water. These people knew of no inhabitants to the northward of their own settlement, and they said the country was so arid, that it was impossible for inhabitants to exist in it. To the southward, between them and the colony, they knew only of a few Bosjesmans. Immediately behind the village were rocks of crystal and marble, the surrounding hills were interspersed with trees and bushes; but the hills beyond the river were of bright red sand. There had been no rain for six months.

The koker tree grew on the tops of the hills. Many of these are ten or twelve feet in circumference at the bottom; but they soon diminish in size. The branches commence at seven or eight feet from the ground, and the cluster of these resembles in shape that of an inverted bason. The

bark is white intermixed with a light yellow, and shining like satin ; the leaf is like that of the aloe ; the whole seldom exceeds sixteen feet in height.

Having rested one day at Kok's Kraal, and procured fourteen strong oxen, I again proceeded to the westward. The next halting place, though only ten miles distant on the rocky bank of the river, was thirty by the route round the hills that we were obliged to take. The following day we reached the river through deep sand ; the country around was level, sandy, and full of marble rocks that shewed their white heads above the ground.

Having heard of a cataract on the river, I took a guide, and walked to visit it. We soon reached what might be called the metropolis of rocks. They were scattered on the surface of the ground for many miles, some piled upon each other, and one half a mile in length, and 500 feet in height. The bed of the river was solid rock, cut into deep chasms by the force of the waters ; the sides were perpendicular rock, and a stone thrown down was some time before it reached the river. In the rainy season, when every dry bed of a river I had now passed becomes a torrent : when such a mass of water rolls rapidly among the huge rocks, the scene must be grand and terrific ! . But probably no human eye has seen it. Several natives whom I met with had seen the mist arising from it ; but all had been so terrified by the sound that none dared to approach it. This cataract is in about 20° east longitude.

On the fourteenth day from that on which we crossed the river, we halted at midnight in a place that afforded neither grass, nor wood, nor water ; for, in consequence of ridges of rocks running from

the edge of the river, we had been obliged to travel considerably to the south of it. The thermometer at noon was at  $86^{\circ}$ ; the night was as cold as a December night in England.

On the fifteenth day we proceeded westward, at the distance of about ten miles from the river, a chain of hills, thirty miles in extent, lying between it and us. Having travelled seven hours, we dug for water in the dry bed of a river, and found it at the depth of five feet. Hundreds of lizards and field-mice were almost constantly in sight; and so little conscious were they that man was the enemy of other animals, that they played about the waggons. Nine lions were seen in the vicinity of our encampment, in the course of the afternoon. One of my Hottentots came upon three of them unawares, among the bushes, and they stood looking at each other for some time. It is said that a lion will not attack a man while he looks him steadfastly in the face. When the Hottentot turned to make a signal to one of his companions to come to his assistance, the lions advanced; but on turning his eyes again towards them, they halted, and when the other came up with his gun they walked away.

The bush-louse, as it is called, was here very troublesome. It is black, and about the size of a large bug. It adheres so closely to the skin that it is scarcely possible to get rid of it without cutting it in pieces; but, like a leech, when it has filled itself with blood, it drops off. The cattle are sometimes covered with these blood-suckers, when the crows perch on their backs, and dine at their leisure. The cows are so pleased with their visitors, that they give them no molestation till they have finished their repast.



We remained at our encampment two whole days, and on the second day after we resumed our journey, we met with a missionary who was settled among the Namaquas, and who informed us that some Bosjesmans had followed us from the cataract, watching for an opportunity to plunder us. He said these poor men had been so ill-treated by the farmers from the colony that they were now endeavouring to destroy every man who wore a hat, considering a hat as the distinguishing mark of a colonist. This day we travelled westward over a plain of deep sand, with a hill on each side, and were obliged to proceed, without halting, till we came to water. At half past ten at night, after a march of twelve hours and a half, we arrived at Kabas fountain. Though this fountain afforded water, there was not to be seen a blade of grass; we therefore hastened away in the morning, and in six hours arrived at Pella, the missionary station among the Namaquas. We had been twenty days following the course of the Great river, as near its southern bank as possible, and ninety-three hours and a half of this time had been spent in actual travelling.

A more barren looking spot than Pella it is not easy to conceive. It is white sand, interspersed with a few bushes, and bounded on the north and east by black rugged mountains. Water is the only temptation that Christians have to remain at Pella. The love of fame is a powerful incentive to painful undertakings; the love of power is another; but these, united, do not appear a sufficient motive for the renunciation of mental intercourse with civilized beings, and the comforts and enjoyments of civilized life. Religion, if not enthusiasm, must enter into the account. A mis-

sionary among the sands and rocks of Africa must believe that he is serving his Creator, and must look for the reward of his services in another world. Pella is in about  $28^{\circ} 46'$  south latitude, and  $18^{\circ} 8'$  east longitude. The Orange river is only four miles distant, but its banks are so covered with rocks that they are not habitable.

The Namaquas live in low circular huts like those of the Koranas. They are constructed with branches of trees bent like a bow, and stuck into the ground at both ends, and are then covered with mats. The ground within is lowered from twelve to eighteen inches, to keep the inhabitants, as they say, from the wind. Observing two families removing their huts to about the distance of fifty yards, I inquired the reason, and was told that they were removing to escape from fleas.

When a man at Pella kills a sheep, his family can only obtain a share of it; as the neighbours repair to the house, and the whole is eaten before they leave it.

The Namaquas are an honest and timid people, generally slender, and few of them tall. Their cattle supply them with food; and, having few wants, and little occupation, they pass the greater part of their time in conversing together in small groupes. Both Namaquas and Bosjesmans affirm that, after persons have gone through a certain process, they cannot be injured by poisonous animals. They allow scorpions to sting, and two different kinds of serpents to bite them, after which they swallow some of the poison, which they say counteracts the effect of that taken into the blood. It is very common for a Hottentot to catch a serpent, squeeze out the poison from his teeth, and

drink it. They say that it occasions only a slight giddiness, and that it preserves them ever after from the bite of these poisonous reptiles.

The following intelligence respecting the Greater Namaquas and the Damaras, I obtained from two Namaqua chiefs.

The country of the Great Namaquas extends northward from the Orange river about twenty-five days' journey, or nearly 500 miles in travelling; and from the coast to the eastward about ten days' journey; it is, in general, hilly and stoney. The people manufacture hassagays, rings, knives, and axes of iron, and vessels and bowls of wood; they dress hides, and dig wells; they abound in cattle, goats, and sheep; they dance to flutes and drums. Some of the Great Namaquas had travelled as far as Cape Town, and had wondered at what they saw there; but none had ever attempted to imitate any thing he saw.

The country of the Damaras lies north of that of the Great Namaquas, and reaches to the ocean. The country has few hills, few trees, fewer bushes, but much grass. The soil is sandy. There are gardens inclosed by hedges, in which are raised pumpkins and other vegetables. I could hear of only two rivers, the Noeyop and the Nossop.

In the estimation of the Namaquas, the Damaras are a numerous people. They are divided into rich and poor. The rich possess cattle; the poor live near the sea, and frequently engage themselves as servants to the Namaquas. The poor cover themselves with grass and cow-dung; the rich wear the skins of their cattle. The Damaras manufacture hassagays, knives, rings, and vessels, of iron. There is a mine of copper in their country,

from which they manufacture rings for the ears, arms, and legs, and with these they carry on a trade with their neighbours. Their houses resemble those of the Hottentots.

The Damaras keep a wife till they are tired of her, or quarrel with her, or see another they like better. On the death of a rich man the horns and bones of the cattle he killed, while living, are piled over his grave, and the number is the proof of his former wealth. If strangers visit the Damaras peaceably, they are kindly treated.

From Pella I rode through the kloof, or defile, that led to the Orange river. We found the river bounded on both sides by high and barren mountains, which scarcely allowed it room to flow. The lively green of the trees on its border formed a striking contrast with the death-like mountains that rose behind. We rode down the southern bank of the river five or six miles, when we turned to the left up a chasm between the mountains, two miles of which resembled a giant's stair-case. We ascended on horseback, step after step, and some of the steps were two feet in height. The pass, in most places, was only a few yards in width, though the sides were many hundred feet in perpendicular height. The sun was nearly down before we reached the summit, and we then rode two hours, at a quick rate, before we came within sight of the lights of Pella.

Having traced the Great river from the junction of the Yellow and the Malalareen to this place, I determined to return to the Cape. The missionaries knew of three ways, but each had its difficulties. In the eastern, no water was to be met with for three long days' journeys; in the middle, no

water for three days, and at this season the fountain would be dry ; the western lay down the river for several days ; it was rocky and exposed to Bosjesmans, and on leaving the river, there were two long days journeys to the Kamies mountains. The first of these evils appeared the least.

On the 22d of September I left Pella, and travelled five hours and a half on my return to the Cape. Owing to the length of the bushes and the unevenness of the ground, we could not reach Raison fountain, near which we hoped to have passed the night. The next morning we arrived at it, and left it, with the melancholy certainty that the oxen had taken their last draught of water till they should have accomplished three days' journey over a desert of sand. We continued travelling through the night, on a south-west course, and at two o'clock in the morning we had to encounter a hill of sand that was a formidable obstruction to our progress. In ascending it the wheels sunk nearly to the axes, and every man aided the oxen with all his might. At seven o'clock we halted, after having marched fifteen successive hours. Wherever we turned our eyes, the hills were of a brown burnt colour, and the plain was deep sand, strewed with tufts of withered grass. Adam Kok, a captain of the Griquas, in crossing this desert lost two horses that he rode ; and must have died himself, if the people who were with him had not persevered in throwing cold sand on his breast.

While I was sitting alone under a rock, a pretty little solitary bird hopped within a yard of me, unsuspecting any danger from man ; and I did not

injure the character of the human species in its estimation.

At noon we proceeded through the desert. The howling of the oxen and the howling of the dogs were painful to hear; but it was still more painful to reflect on the time and labour yet to come before their thirst could be relieved. In such a case the Hottentots say, "Shut your eyes and ears, and press forward." At nine at night we passed some Bosjesmans who were sitting round a fire at the foot of a hill. At midnight the cold was piercing, and the sand deep. A little before sunrise the loose oxen ran off at full speed towards a recess among some hills. They had certainly scented water, though there was none above ground, and they were disappointed. They stood snuffing the air in every direction for about a minute, when they again galloped off, and led the way to the welcome spring, which is called Quick fountain, and consists of two pools. Now sheep, dogs, and oxen, rushed into the pools, and such as could not gain admission pushed between their fellows to obtain a space for their mouths. None had tasted water during thirty-eight hours, thirty-two of which the oxen had been dragging waggons through deep sand. In this time we had advanced about ninety miles, in the direction of south-west by west.

The next day we left Quick fountain, which afforded no grass, and travelled westward among low hills, till we came to grass where there was no water. At ten o'clock at night we arrived at Silver fountain, the residence of Cornelius Kok.

On the 1st of October we pursued our journey in a south-west direction; and on the 2d, the ele-

venth day from leaving Pella, and the seventh of actual travelling, we reached the first farm-house in the colony. Neither the farmer nor his wife were more than forty years of age, yet they had ten daughters, all married. The house contained a low table, and three things that had once been chairs, but the chief articles visible were skins. In a corner was a space inclosed by a mud wall, about eighteen inches high, the floor of which was covered with skins. This was the dormitory of the family, and in it was now lying, gazing at the strangers, the son, a stout young man of eighteen. The lady sat with a long stick in her hand, commanding in the tone of a general officer, and her orders were instantly obeyed by a set of wretched Hottentot servants, dressed in tattered sheepskins, and covered with dirt. The next day we came in view of the western ocean, and halted at the house of a farmer named Westhuysen.

The house of my entertainer consisted of a single room about twenty feet long, and ten wide. Its only window was stopped with the head of an old cask, but the light which was denied entrance by this aperture found admittance by the cracks of the wall, and the holes of the roof. The fire was made in a corner near the door; chimney there was none, and the smoke had to choose whether it would make its exit through the crevices or the door. In the opposite corner was heaped up the grain of the last harvest, covered by a few mats. Under the window was fixed a rough hewn table, which supported a kettle of boiling water and some broken basons. Three trunks served for seats as well as closets, but, as a party of friends were assembled to dinner, planks were placed over

them to answer the purpose of benches. In a third corner was the bed of the farmer and his wife, a bullock's skin, nailed to four stakes driven into the ground, and on this bed were thrown the beds of the rest of the family, that is to say, a number of greasy sheep skins, which at night were spread on the ground. Lastly, against the wall opposite to the window was a hand-mill for grinding corn.

The two sons and two daughters of the farmer began to grind the corn necessary for the party. This required four stout labourers, and the company joined occasionally in the employment. The fire crackled on the hearth, in expectation of a whole sheep, which it had to prepare for the dinner of the grouse; and the sheep, just flayed, hung bleeding against the wall. The men drew their pipes from their pockets, and began to smoke, and one of the guests, who had just returned from the Cape, supplied the whole company plentifully with brandy.

From my childhood I never liked the noise of a mill, the sight of slaughtered animals, or the vapours of tobacco. I could not bear the various evils that assailed my senses; I stole away to the still and pure air of my tent, and I had the satisfaction to hear the next morning that my absence had not been observed by the happy party.

We now travelled south-east, for six days, on a desert of sand between the mountains and the sea, the thermometer on four of these was at noon from 94° to 102°, and at sun-rise and sun-set 86°. There was neither rock nor bush large enough to afford a shade, and though it blew a gale of wind, the air felt as if it were mingled with fire. The common flies, attracted by the perspiration, were walking



over my whole face, particularly about the eyes ; to drive them away was only to make room for their successors. In this time we met with four fountains of brackish water, and once we obtained good by digging in the sand. On the sixth day, on reaching the summit of an ascent, a prospect of considerable extent appeared before us, bounded by a range of stupendous mountains that ran like a wall from east to west, for perhaps more than thirty miles.

At ten o'clock at night an ox, that had done all he could to serve me, lay down on the road to die. I gave him a little water that I had for my own drinking, and he revived and rose. He looked for food, but looked in vain, for not a blade of grass was to be seen. We were obliged to push forward for water, and with great pity and regret I looked back to him as long as he could be seen. At midnight we arrived at the long-wished for Elephant river, and halted on its banks.

We found the Elephant river a considerable stream, though much inferior to the Orange ; it is one of the few rivers in the colony that are never dry. The mouth is contracted and rocky ; within, it is navigable nearly thirty miles up the country, but that country is almost uninhabited. Its banks here were beautifully covered with trees ; but it is scarcely possible to conceive a more barren prospect than the ground immediately beyond them. It was distressing to see the oxen looking like spectres for want of food, and to be unable to supply them. Understanding from a farmer, who lay at the ford, that we might obtain grass about four hours higher up the river, we crossed it, and proceeded to the farm-house, where we lodged.

The next morning, at seven o'clock, the farmer gave me coffee ; at eight, a breakfast of tea, with plenty of milk ; at eleven we sat down to dinner. I thought our meals followed hastily ; but such was the custom of the house. The farmer's wife was absent on a journey to the Cape ; the farmer, with his broad-brimmed hat on, placed himself at the head of the table ; a girl, clad in little more than her own skin, stood at the bottom, holding in her hand a long stick, at the end of which was a fan of ostrich feathers, with which she drove away the flies. The two sons of the farmer, one of eighteen, the other of fourteen years of age, sat at a side-table, and were not considered as belonging to the company. My host described with much spirit his various encounters with lions and leopards.

We had yet seven days travelling through deep sands. At the end of the second we halted at Great fountain, where we found good grass and water ; but the oxen were so worn down with fatigue that they preferred rest to either. Four of the nights we halted on the road, and three we reached farm-houses.

On the eighth day we arrived at a farm-house that was nearly surrounded by the Piquet-berg. The road was now tolerably good. We saw the habitations of several farmers at the foot of distant hills to the left, and two or three at the foot of the Piquet-berg on the right. At midnight, after a march of nine hours, the oxen were unable to proceed any farther, and we halted by the side of the road. The next day we arrived at the Berg, or mountain river. The country around us was in a state of nature, except a few scattered farms, which appeared like specks in the landscape.

Having crossed the river, I left my oxen, and proceeded to Roode-zand Kloof, and from thence to Tulbagh, the residence of the new landrost. Here I remained a week, rewarding my fellow-travellers, and sending each to his respective home, and on the 31st of October I again returned to Cape Town. My journey from Pella, near the Orange river, had occupied thirty-three days, exclusive of the week I passed at Tulbagh. Of this time about 212 hours had been spent in actual travelling.

This whole journey I performed in my waggon, except when I chose to relieve my oxen, which was not seldom, by walking on foot. They suffered lamentably and irremediably by great exertions and the want of food and water: I continued to enjoy perfect health.

## CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE CAPE TO THE KAMIESBERG, AND THE  
MOUTH OF THE ORANGE RIVER. RETURN TO THE  
CAPE.

**I** AM afraid my Reader, even if he be a "Courteous Reader," or a "Gentle Reader," as all readers were termed of old, when books were not so numerous, is, by this time, weary of dry deserts and exhausted oxen : I will therefore not dwell long upon such barren subjects, though, consistent with my plan, I cannot yet discontinue them. To complete the Tour of the Southern part of Africa, there yet remained to visit the Kamies mountains, the western coast, and the mouth of the Orange river ; and for this purpose I left Cape Town on a third journey.

On the second day I arrived at Groene, or Green Kloof, which is a division of the Cape district, consisting of several clusters of small hills that cross the stripe of sand extending along the western coast. The dales that lie within these hills contain copious springs of good water, and excellent pasturage for cattle. In these two days, I travelled about thirty-four miles.

From the Tea fonteyn, the next stage, I crossed the country to Saldanha bay, which, as a spacious, secure, and commodious sheet of inland sea-water, can perhaps, scarcely be equalled. It lies in latitude  $33^{\circ} 10'$  south, and longitude  $18^{\circ}$  east.

The country in general, from Saldanha bay to the Berg, or Mountain river, is flat and sandy, but very fertile. Wheat yields from fifteen to twenty fold, barley from thirty to forty, and it is curious to see melons, pumpkins, cauliflowers, and other vegetables, growing luxuriantly in sheer sand. At one place the people were rooting out sugar-canes to plant tobacco.

The bay of St. Helena is about fifteen miles to the northward of the bay of Saldanha. The Berg river, which here discharges itself into the sea, though an immense mass of water, is so choaked with sand at the mouth, that boats can enter it only at high water.

I passed the Berg river in a boat, about fifteen miles from its mouth, and floated my waggon over with a cask. The road on the northern side was heavy, and the country was so thinly inhabited, that night overtook us before we could arrive at the dwelling where we purposed to lodge. The driver lost his way on the uniform surface of sand and bushes, and we were three hours driving backwards and forwards, close to the house, before it was discovered. It was a wretched hovel of rushes in the midst of a sandy plain; the night was cold, and there was neither food nor shelter for my horse, nor water for the cattle. The drifts of sand had choaked up the briny spring, and the inhabitants were obliged to fetch their water from the Berg river, which was twelve miles distant. At the hazard, therefore, of losing our way a second time, I determined to proceed to the next habitation, which was said to be four miles farther. We arrived there at midnight, and found it little better than the other; a cow or

two, a few sheep and goats, and a little corn, constituting the whole riches of the inhabitants.

At the eastern extremity of the sandy plain, I passed the northern point of the Piquet-berg, a cluster of mountains to the west of the great chain. Grain, fruit, tobacco, and cattle are the produce of the farms at the foot of these mountains.

The deep sandy plains were succeeded by still deeper sandy hills, over which the wheels of the waggons were continually sinking to their axes. These mountains of sand extended nearly thirty miles beyond the point of the Piquet-berg, before they reached their greatest elevation, when a grand spectacle presented itself to our view. Along the summit, which was several miles in width, and in length from north to south, was only bounded by the horizon, rose a multitude of pyramidal columns, some of them a hundred feet high, and as many in diameter. The cavernous appearance of these columns proclaimed their antiquity, and the fragments around them demonstrated that they had once been united, and had formed a connected range. The wreck of mountains is one of the wonders of nature that does not often meet the eye of the traveller.

It was three long days' journey before the hills of sand were left behind; when a new country, though still a sandy one, appeared on the banks of the Elephant's river. Where we now crossed it, its banks afforded several excellent farms.

With fresh oxen in my waggons, I undertook to cross the great chain of mountains, at a place which had not for many years been attempted by wheels; the usual pass in this part of the country being Eeland's Kloof. The mountains were ex-

ceedingly grand and lofty; the road wound through passes between high points, and was dreadfully steep and rocky. On approaching the summit, we found the same kind of pyramidal remains as before; but some of them a thousand feet high, and of such vast bulk, that each might be considered as a separate mountain. These form the highest summit of the great chain; the solid summit, which lies at their base, is at least five miles in breadth. The grotesque manner in which the resisting fragments grew out of this surface, the various chambers, arches, and colonades, formed by those that had rolled from the top, struck the mind with wonder. Reflecting on the time that must have elapsed in making ruins of solid mountains, and the devastation to be made by future ages, I felt an inexpressible kind of awe, and was lost in my own contemplations. One thing, however, appeared probable, that the sandy shores of Western Africa, which reach to a distance yet untravelled, are formed by the decomposition of the range of sand-stone mountains that run in the same direction.

It took me eight hours to go over the mountain. The descent to the eastern plain was several hundred feet less than the ascent had been from the western. The country was rough and stoney, and bounded by a wall of rock from five hundred to a thousand feet in height. A partial elevation, still higher, which we were to get over, is called the Bokveldt mountain; in appearance and produce it resembles the Sneuwberg. In ascending this mountain, a change of wind produced incessant peals of thunder and heavy rain, during the whole day, with hailstones more than half an inch in

diameter. In a few days after, the Bokveldt became one verdant carpet of herbaceous plants, embroidered with flowers; and hares, bustards, and partridges, were seen by thousands. Among the few shrubs, I found the fly-bush, the leaves of which are covered with fine hairs, and a tough glutinous substance, to which the smaller insects adhere. It is frequently placed in the houses for the purpose of catching flies.

At one of the farms I saw a tame qua-ka feeding with the horses. He suffered himself to be stroked and caressed, but no attempts had been made to ride him.

Having procured a Hottentot for my guide, I set forward early in the morning, that I might accomplish the descent of the Bokveldt before it was dark. From the edge of the precipice, which in many parts is not less than 2,000 feet in depth, the Karroo plains beneath appeared like a vast sea, and their hills like so many islands. We reached the bottom in safety while day-light remained, and yoking fresh oxen to the waggon, we launched into the desert. The rain on the Bokveldt had not reached the Karroo, which was dry and dusty, and its few plants were shrivelled.

The following day we proceeded along the desert, in a cloud of dust raised by the waggon and the oxen; and, excepting one ostrich, we saw not a living creature. When we had travelled eight hours, my guide pointed to a small cluster of naked hills, under which, he said, water frequently lodged in the cavities of the rocks; and there, after a long search, we found it, and replenished our vessels. On the sand we saw impressions of human hands, and a thousand impressions of the



feet of antelopes, qua-kas, and zebras ; but none of lions, though the place is called the Lion's den.

The next day we entered a narrow pass between the hills. The ground continued to be broken into hill and dale ; but both were destitute of plants, except that some aloes grew on the sides of the hills. Two mountain geese directed us by their flight to a spring about twenty miles beyond the Lion's den ; and ten miles farther brought us to the bed of the Hartebeest river, in which there was not a drop of water. On digging about five feet deep in its channel, we found a stream that was clear and fresh.

Near the river we found a village of Namaqua Hottentots. Their flocks, which they brought in at night, consisted of a few cattle, some goats, and about 3,000 sheep. No sheep were found by the Dutch when they settled in this country ; and it is remarkable that the common sheep of Europe became the broad-tailed sheep of the colony ; and that the broad-tailed sheep, when transported to the country of the Namaquas have, at the third generation, the slender tail of their European progenitors.

Our next encampment was at the house, or hovel, of a Dutch farmer, a tall thin old man, whose black hair covered his forehead, and black beard his cheeks and chin. His housekeeper was a Hottentot woman, over whose head had passed at least a century, and whose face had a covering of soot that made it as black as that of her master. The other inmate, who completed the establishment, yielded to neither in point of complexion, for she was a negro slave.

The old gentleman had long resided in this sequestered spot, with no society but that of his two servants, within doors, and a tribe of Hottentots, in straw huts, without. He possessed immense flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, and had large sums of money placed out at interest. A fire was presently lighted on the hearth; a quarter of a sheep was laid on it to broil; and the repast was served on the lid of an old chest, covered with a remnant of the slave's petticoat.

On the following day I crossed a chain of mountains to the west, and proceeding to the northward, between this, and another much higher, I came, at night, to the head of the defile, where it was impracticable for waggons to advance any farther. These mountains are called in the Namaqua language the Kamies, or Cluster. That where the defiles terminated as in a centre, was a peak not less than 4,000 feet above the plain on the western side. The Kamies mountains contain abundance of copper, and are the commencement of what are called the Copper mountains, from copper-ore being every where found on their surface.

When the snow begins to fall on the Kamiesberg, the inhabitants quit their elevated situations, and pass the winter on the plains. These mountains are only fifteen miles from the sea.

The Lesser Namaquas, or those to the southward of the Orange river, are in general taller and less robust than the eastern Hottentots. Some of the women are elegant figures, and are lively and active. The most ornamented part of their dress is the little leathern apron. To this, in addition to the common border of shells or beads, are hung

six or eight chains, the ends of which drag on the ground. The upper part of the chains is copper, the lower polished iron. These are manufactured by the Damaras.

The huts of the Namaquas are perfect hemispheres, composed of a frame of sticks covered with matting. They are from ten to twelve feet in diameter, and so commodious that many of the farmers of the Kamiesberg have adopted them.

A traveller who visited these people in the year 1784, found the huts of the Namaquas chiefly covered with skins. Fashion was then so capricious that some persons wore six ear-rings in one ear, and none in the other; some had bracelets from the wrist to the elbow on one arm, while the other was without any; and some had one side of the face painted with various colours, while on the other side the colours and figures were different. Strings of copper and glass beads almost covered their garments; they were fastened on their cloaks as well as aprons, and hung from the latter to their feet. They were also worn in their hair, which was plastered with grease, and frequently incrustated with a red powder resembling brick-dust.

The oxen and goats were handsomer, stronger, and more vigorous than those of Eastern Africa. The goats were spotted like a leopard, and gave nearly as much milk as a cow. The saddle-oxen would support fatigue better than a horse, and yielded to him in nothing but swiftness. Some of the oxen were still trained for war, and for this purpose the fiercest were selected. Being driven against the enemy, they became furious, rushed upon the men, trampled them under their feet,

gored them with their horns, and pursued them in their flight as long as they had life. These oxen were also employed in the defence of the flocks and herds, and a number of them would make head against a lion.

This traveller met with many establishments of the Lesser Namaquas, some of whom danced round his tent the whole of the night, relieving each other every two hours. The largest of their villages consisted of between fifty and sixty huts, separated into three divisions.

Now, the numerous settlements of the Namaquas had dwindled into four, and those small ones, and the people were in a great measure subservient to the Dutch farmers who lived among them. The farmers having seized the finest parts of the country, permitted the former possessors to erect their huts near their houses, on condition of their furnishing a certain number of people to protect their cattle from the Bosjesmans and beasts of prey. Hottentots will not long exist under such circumstances; they will first sink into absolute servitude, and then become extinct.

In the Namaqua country, which lies between the Kamiesberg and the Orange river, there is no water, except in the periodical streams that flow from the mountains under beds of sand. In these the natives, when such existed, dug deep wells, and covered them over to prevent evaporation. The plains are now desolate and uninhabited.

In the Kamiesberg I found a lilly, the stem of which was seven feet high, and bore more than fifty flowers, with foot-stalks eighteen inches long. The bulb of this gigantic flower was as large as

the human head. The country people said that the juice of the bulb was a strong poison ; that the leaves occasioned sudden death to the cattle that eat them ; and that if small birds perched on the flowers, they instantly rolled lifeless to the ground. Country people have something marvellous to relate on any extraordinary production of nature ; but it has generally truth for its foundation. Another species of lilly, the opposite leaves of which form the shape of a fan, has been ascertained to be a most virulent poison ; and it is said that the juice of the bulb, mixed with the mangled body of a certain kind of spider, furnishes one of the most deadly poisons for the arrows of the Bosjesmans.

This spider has a black and hairy body, which, together with its short legs, is three inches in breadth. It lives under ground, and constructs over its hole a cover composed of its own filaments, and earth, or dung, and turning on a joint, like the lid of a snuff-box. When the spider is watching for its prey, it sits with the lid half open, ready to sally out of its hole ; on the appearance of danger it closes the cover, and, after some time, opens it cautiously to see if the danger be past.

On the Kamiesberg I found a mixed horde of Bastards and Namaquas, possessed of horses, cattle, sheep, and large gardens stocked with pumpkins, onions, and tobacco. The chief had been in his youth a great lover of the chace, and his matted hut displayed within the skins of various animals that he had killed. He boasted that, in one expedition, he had killed seven camelopardalises, and three white rhinoceroses. Game, of

every sort, is now scarce in this country. Wherever Europeans appear, man and beast either retreat before them, or are extirpated.

At this village I found one of the Damaras. I took him for a Caffer, and he was unquestionably of that race. He represented his people as a very poor tribe; said that their country near the sea produced nothing for the support of cattle; and that their existence depended on the exchange of their copper articles with the Botchuanas on the east, and the Namaquas on the south. His account of the process of smelting the ore was simple and satisfactory; and when the pure metal was obtained, it was manufactured into chains, rings, beads, and bracelets, by means of one piece of stone for an anvil, and another for a hammer. The workmanship would not disgrace an artificer furnished with much better tools, but the rings and the links of the chains were not closed.

The people of the country endeavoured to dissuade me from visiting the mouth of the Orange river, and said I should have to pass a desert uninhabited by man or beast. I, who had passed some such deserts before, was not to be deterred by the mention of this; but I found it very difficult to procure a guide. At length, with much persuasion, and great offers, I prevailed upon a Hottentot to conduct me.

From the western extremity of the Kamiesberg, I had a view of the Atlantic ocean. We descended the mountain with much difficulty, and, directing our course to the northward, we travelled four days through a sandy country, in which we found two springs of brackish water, and one of good. The fourth day brought us to the Coussie or Sand

river, which forms the boundary of the colony. We were here about ten miles from the sea. As this place afforded excellent pasture, I remained here two days to refresh my oxen, and in that time I made some excursions along the shore. The rocks were beautiful ; some being as white as snow, and others having veins of different colours. I saw several deserted huts, formed of the ribs of whales, or the bones of elephants.

From the Coussie we pursued a northern course over a sandy plain. Leaving my waggon, I proceeded northward along the shore, which was at first low and rocky, and afterwards much elevated. We found petrifications of shells in the highest rocks, some of which were a hundred and fifty feet above the sea. We also met with several deserted huts, with heaps of shells lying near them. At nine o'clock in the evening of the fifth day from the Coussie river, I overtook my waggon, and found my Hottentots debating whether we should or should not return, as there was no prospect of finding water. Before the consultation was ended one of their companions arrived with the glad tidings that he had found an excellent spring about six miles to the northward. My Hottentots now recollected that, as the oxen had already passed two days without water and without grass, they would probably have had to endure the same privation in returning over the same ground.

The next morning we reached the spring, and found not only good water but good pasturage for the cattle. They remained here the following day ; and I rode to the sea, which was about nine miles distant. Here I saw mimosa trees that had been thrown on the sand by the waves ; and from

thence I concluded that we were not far from the mouth of the Orange river.

The next day, with great fatigue and difficulty, we advanced about ten miles through the sand; and, on the day after, still proceeding northward, we passed the two hills called the Brothers, which had been in view during the two preceding days. About three miles to the northward of these, we found a large valley in which we passed the night. It afforded no water. My guide here informed me that we were about eight miles distant from the river. Early in the morning I left the waggon, and rode forward, and I reached the river about ten o'clock. On the way we saw zebras, quakas, and eelands, and found an ostrich's nest containing thirty-four eggs. To us, who had passed nine days from the river Coussie, in crossing an arid desert, in which no animal had been seen, and in which our cattle had tasted water only twice, the vicinity of the Orange river appeared a new creation.

On the following day I visited the mouth of the river. It is about half a mile in breadth, but inclosed by a ridge of rocks, which prevent it from being navigable. It is in latitude  $28^{\circ} 33'$ , and the longitude is about half a degree west of the Cape.

The object of this journey being accomplished, I returned, by the way I had come, to the Kamiesberg.

From the Kamiesberg I made the best of my way to the Bokveld. At the edge of the desert leading to it, I was visited by a number of Lesser Namaqua women, whose sons and husbands were in the service of the Dutch farmers. One of these appeared to be the oldest woman I had ever be-



held : many more than a hundred years had certainly passed over her head. She pointed out her eldest daughter, who stood at the head of five generations. I asked the poor old woman if she could remember the time when the Christians first came among her people. "Yes," she replied, "I have reason to remember it ; for, before that time I never wanted a bellyful, and now I can scarcely get a mouthful."

I now quitted my former road, and proceeded inland, to the eastward ; and passing over a rough, stony country, I reached in two days the foot of the Hantam. I encircled this mountain in four days. Farm-houses are scattered round its foot. The face of the country is similar to that of the Sneeuwberg ; the sheep and cattle are equally good, and the horses better. A disease among the latter frequently rages at the bottom of the mountain, while the flat summit is exempt from it ; this part of the mountain is therefore appropriated to the general use of the farmers, who have each the privilege of sending thither eight horses during the sickly season.

From the Hantam I proceeded south-easterly, and ascended the heights of the Roggeveld, or Ryefield, so called from a species of rye that grows wild here in abundance. It is separated from the Hantam only by a narrow chasm. In some places the Roggeveld presents to the terrace next below it, which is the Bokveld and the Karroo plains, perpendicular faces of rock from two to four thousand feet in height ; yet on the eastern side the descent is scarcely perceptible. The Great Fish river, which rises on the very top of this mountain, and takes an easterly course, has scarcely any

current; but is a succession of deep holes connected by periodical streams.

The great inequality of the summit of the Roggeveld gives it the appearance of a chain of mountains rising out of the general summit of a mountain. Of these, the Kom, or Cup mountain, which is five thousand feet above the Karroo plains, is the highest. For several months in the year the Roggeveld is entirely under snow; the inhabitants then descend to the Karroo, with all their cattle, and live in temporary huts of rushes or straw till the spring.

On the Roggeveld I broke the wing of a condor that measured ten feet one inch from wing to wing. This bird, before it was dispatched, kept three dogs at bay, till having torn a piece of flesh out of the thigh of one of them with its claws, they all retreated.

I travelled twelve days along the summit of the Roggeveld, when I fell into the track of my journey from the Cape to Graaff Reynet: I then descended into the Karroo plains, which, in this place, I crossed in three days.

Bordering on these arid plains on the west, are several clusters of high mountains, that are called the Little and the Cold Bokveld. These are ramifications of the great chain, and inclose meadows and valleys with springs and swamps, which produce good grass and good harvests.

I crossed the great chain of mountains that runs north and south, through the ravine called Eeland's Kloof, which was much the best of the four passes by which I had now crossed them. On the west of the chain lies the division of the Four-and-twenty rivers, which, with Zwaartland, forms a

wide extended plain, fertile in corn, grass, and fruits, well watered and well inhabited. The water in Zwaartland is so strongly impregnated with salt, that it can scarcely be drank by a stranger. The inhabitants think fresh water insipid, and say it does not quench their thirst.

Crossing the Berg river, I entered Zwaartland, and from thence taking my route across the Tiger Berg, I arrived at the Cape ; thus concluding my third and last journey from that place.

I had now traversed the greater part of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and it appeared to me remarkable, not that an industrious Hollander should have become indolent in Africa, but that a nation of traders should have become exclusively agriculturists. Except Cape Town there is not one town in the territory ; the capitals of the other districts being villages, of which Stellenbosch, the largest, and only twenty-six miles from the Cape, does not contain more than about seventy houses. There is no market for the produce of the land but Cape Town ; and, except at Cape Town, there is not, I believe, a merchant or a trader in the colony.

## CHAPTER XV.

## WESTERN AFRICA.

## BENGUELA, ANGOLA, CONGO.

I now bade adieu to Caffers, Hottentots, Bosjesmans, and Dutch farmers, and prepared to visit a people who are considered as the revenue of their sovereigns, and the riches of their traders; who are regularly bartered and shipped off to every part of the civilized world in which their labour is required; I mean the Negroes. Having hired a sloop at the Cape, I engaged five European attendants, and purchased a negro, a native of Congo, whom, after he had discharged the office of my interpreter, I designed to restore to his family. I then went on board the vessel, and directed my course to the northward.

The Portuguese have settlements in Benguela and Angola; but as I could not understand that any modern traveller had visited these countries, or would be suffered to penetrate into them if he were to make the attempt, I passed them. I shall however give such an account of them, as I have been able to collect from ancient authors.

The bay of Benguela is in about  $12^{\circ} 45'$  south latitude, and about  $13^{\circ} 20'$  east longitude. On the northern side of the bay stands the fort of Benguela, built in a square form, with trenches and palisades, and surrounded by houses, shaded by banana, orange, lemon, pomegranate and bakoven trees. There are seven villages in the neighbourhood of Benguela, which pay a tribute to the

Portuguese, consisting of a tenth of all they possess. The largest of these, which is called Mani Kimsomba, can bring into the field 3,000 men. Formerly this village contained some Portuguese, but they were driven from hence by the negroes.

The air of Benguela is exceedingly unhealthy, the Portuguese who reside there looking more like spectres than men. In 1666 the town was said to contain about 200 white inhabitants, and a great number of black.

Angola is so called by the Portuguese from the title of its sovereign; the original name of the country being Donga. It lies between the river Danda on the north, and the river Coanza, which divides it from the country of Benguela, on the south. The city of Loanda San Paolo, the capital of the Portuguese, is situated near the sea, on the side of a hill, in about latitude  $9^{\circ}$  south, and nearly the same longitude as Benguela. It was built in 1578 by Paul Dias de Nevaiz, who was the first Portuguese governor of the country, and was probably the saint from whom the town took its name. It occupies a great extent of ground, and contains many good houses, churches, and monasteries. The houses of the Portuguese are built with stone and lime, and covered with tiles; those of the negroes are of mud and straw. Loando contains about 3,000 white inhabitants, and a prodigious number of black, who are slaves to the others; some of whom have fifty, some a hundred, and even to three thousand slaves. The fraternity of the Jesuits have twelve thousand. Slaves, both male and female, kneel when they speak to their masters. When a Portuguese appears in the street, he is attended by a negro, who carries an umbrella

over his head, and is followed by two others, carrying his hammock of net. The ladies seldom go from home. When they do, they are never attended by fewer than twelve slaves; two men, who carry the lady in the net; two, who carry each an umbrella; four women, who each hold a corner of a carpet that is thrown over their mistress; and four walk before to render any service which may be requisite.

The white women of Loanda usurp a degree of authority over their husbands that assuredly did not take its rise from the general manners of Africa. If they do not behave according to their wishes, they either drive them from home, or will not suffer them to go out. Some of these ladies carry this prerogative so far as to detain their husband's cloaths, on pretence that they are the property of his family. The fortune of the mother descends to the daughters.

The mulattoes are very numerous at Loanda. They hate the negroes mortally, even the mothers who bore them, and endeavour to put themselves upon an equality with the white people, though they are not allowed to sit in their presence. When they travel, they exact the services and provisions of the negroes, without making any compensation. Such of them as are Pombeiros, have frequently children by the women of the interior part of the country; and, returning to the same place some years after, they carry back their own offspring for sale.

The negroes of Loanda frequently exchange wives for a limited time. The women buy and sell, while their husbands sit at home, spinning or weaving cotton. When a considerable person

dies, the corpse is carried to the grave in a direct line, and if any wall or house cross it, it is taken down. The way is strewn with leaves and branches. Living slaves are intombed with the great man [1688], notwithstanding all the vigilance of the monks. The bodies of the better sort of people are sewed in cotton cloths; those of the poorer sort are wrapped in mats. Some have a horn, others an earthen vessel, placed over them: some persons raise a mound of earth over the grave, and others form an arbour.

The country near Loanda is very fertile and well cultivated, producing manioca, millet, great and small, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, grapes, malaguetta or guinea pepper, potatoes, and various European vegetables. The domestic animals are sheep, goats, and hogs. Lions, leopards, and buffalo, inhabit the woods; and scorpions, millepedes, and serpents, the houses.

The language is a dialect of that of Congo.

The currency consists of pieces of red wood about a foot in length, cloths, and shells. The latter are sent to Congo on the heads of negroes, in sacks made of straw; every sack, when filled, weighing two arrobas, or sixty-four pounds. I cannot help quoting here an observation of the author who mentions this fact, and who wrote in the year 1700. "It will seem strange," he says, "to Europeans that the people of Angola and Congo should use pieces of wood, bits of cloth, and shells, instead of money; but, at Massa, pieces of iron is the coin; at Melinda, little balls, resembling glass; in Ethiopia, cakes of salt; and in Cathay, we are told a sort of stamped paper passes for money."

It is affirmed that, when the Spaniards were masters of Portugal, they transported annually, from Angola to America and the West Indies, 15,000 slaves: the Portuguese still transport a very great number. These are brought from the interior by servants called Pombeiros, who are dispatched by the Portuguese for this purpose; they are in general negroes; for no white man could encounter the perils, and support the fatigue of the journey. The Pombeiros are attended by a hundred to a hundred and fifty slaves, who carry on their heads the merchandize necessary to purchase others. Sometimes they are absent a year, and return with four, five, or six hundred new slaves; sometimes a trusty Pombeiro remains in the country, and transmits to his master the slaves he may collect, a part of whom return with the articles for payment.

During the journey to the coast, the slaves are ill fed; and when they arrive at Loanda they are weak and exhausted. Before they are shipped off, they are lodged in a large building, erected for that purpose, where they are plentifully supplied with food, and with palm oil to anoint themselves. On board the ships, great care is taken to preserve their health; and those that are sick are separated from the rest, and provided with warm diet. Every ten or twelve days every slave has a new mat. "Yet," says an honest missionary, "it is pitiful to see how they crowd these poor wretches, six hundred and fifty, or seven hundred, in a ship; the men standing in the hold, tied to stakes, the women between decks, and those that are with child, in the great cabin, and the children in the



steerage, squeezed like herrings in a barrel, which, in that climate, occasions an intolerable stench."

The King of Angola, or, more correctly speaking, the Angola of Donga, resides a little above the city Massingan, his capital, on a rocky mountain, seven leagues in circumference, containing rich fields and pasture sufficient for the supply of his family and retinue. This mountain, like the Jew's rock in Abyssinia, is accessible only by one narrow entrance. The sovereign keeps a number of peacocks, which bird belongs so exclusively to royalty, that if a subject were to keep but a feather, he would either be put to death, or, with his whole family, be sold to slavery. Massingan is situated on the river Coanza, and is about a hundred miles distant from its mouth.

The negroes of Souassen, one of the districts of Angola, are obliged to appoint bearers for the Portuguese when they travel from Loanda to Massingan. When the traveller arrives at a village in which he designs to pass the night, he sends to the sova, or chief, to inform him that he shall have occasion for such a number of bearers on the following morning. These are dismissed when the labour of the day is over, and a fresh set is provided for the next. Every division has its respective sova, whose people kneel and clap their hands when they address him. The villages are inclosed with thick hedges, leaving only a narrow entrance; and the habitations are huts made with straw. Every village has a Christian priest.

Having passed the kingdoms of Benguela and Angola, I entered the River of Congo. Cape Padron is the southern point of this entrance, and Boolambemba, or Fathomless Point, the northern.

Both the breadth and depth of the mouth of the river have been exaggerated. The true mouth was not three miles broad; the mean depth might be about forty fathoms, and the velocity of the current about four miles and a half an hour; but I must observe that this was in the dry season, the beginning of July.

We anchored off Shark Point, which is within Cape Padron, and were visited by the *mafook*, or officer of revenue and trade of Sonio, with half a dozen of his attendants. This gentleman conceived himself entitled to great respect, and insisted upon having a chair, with a cushion, placed for him to sit on. His appearance, when thus seated, was not a little grotesque. He had a most tattered pelisse of red velvet, edged with gold lace, on his otherwise naked body; and held in one hand a green silk umbrella which was spread over his head, and in the other his stick of office, headed with silver. I gave this officer a breakfast; but he smelt so offensively that I could not bring myself to partake of it.

The town of Sonio is said to be about fifteen miles from the southern side of the river. The petty sovereign of this place was baptized by one of the Portuguese fathers in 1641. Whenever he went to church, he was adorned with gold chains and strings of fine coral, preceded by musicians, attended by guards armed with musquets, and followed by a great crowd of people.

In about the year 1700, a French slave-trader sailed four leagues up the creek that leads towards Sonio, and then walked six miles, which brought him to the town. He found the king seated on a

great chair, his head bare, and newly shaven. He wore a short cloak of black cloth on his shoulders, and a piece of the same stuff round his waist; his legs were not covered, but he had slippers on his feet. He made a sign to the slave-merchant to sit down opposite to him, and entered into discourse with him concerning trade. It appeared that, though he had no objection to any evils the bodies of his people might suffer in a state of slavery, he had a due regard for their souls; and, fearing lest the Frenchman should make Turks or heretics of them, he would sell no slaves without the consent of the Padre. The king then ordered a large vessel of palm wine to be brought; and having drank some of it himself, in a large silver cup, he caused the remainder to be presented to the trader.

The Frenchman now waited upon the father, who, feeling the same scruples as the king respecting the salvation of the captives, business went on slowly, and the merchant quitted the place for another market.

The apartments of the prince were divided from each other by boards, some of which were painted with various colours and figures. The house of the father was much larger and better than that of the sovereign, and had attached to it an excellent garden. Elephants had been numerous here, and of an extraordinary size, some of their teeth weighing more than two hundred pounds each; but in 1700, owing to the infinite numbers that had been destroyed, they were beginning to grow more scarce.

Several of the Sonio men who came on board my vessel were Christians after the Portuguese

fashion ; and one was a priest, black, and bare-footed, ordained, as his diploma shewed, by the monks at Loanda. He could read the Romish liturgy in Latin, and write his own name and that of St. Antonio ; but his morality partook of his ancient religion, for he assured me he had five wives. Christians, or idolaters, all these people had figures raised on the skin, and the two upper teeth filed away on the sides next to each other, so as to form an opening to admit a tobacco pipe. These two operations were submitted to for the sake of ornament, and it was said that a man was reckoned handsome by the women in proportion to the width of this cavity. I found my Sonio visitors sullen, dirty, swarming with lice, and covered with eruptions ; strong symptoms of their having been civilized by the Portuguese. These people, however, had no establishment in Sonio.

At Shark Point some people brought in canoes, a few pigs, goats, fowls, and eggs, for sale, but the price they demanded was exorbitant. The method of closing a bargain is by the buyer and seller breaking between them a leaf, or a blade of grass. Till this ceremony is performed, no bargain is legally concluded, though the parties be in possession of each other's goods. This we learned by experience ; for having bought and paid for a couple of fowls, they were killed immediately ; when the seller, taking advantage of the omission of this ratification of the contract, insisted upon having another glass of brandy. I gave it, but I profited by the lesson.

Near Shark Point, we saw a number of human bones. A smaller proof than this might have convicted the natives of being cannibals ; but we

were informed by those on board that they were the remains of criminals who had been executed for murder by poisoning.

At Shark Point I quitted the vessel, and proceeded up the river in a boat, determined to advance as far as, by this, or any other means in my power, it should be found practicable. This river has been called the Congo, the Zaire, and the Bar-bela; the natives of Congo call it the "Moienzi Enzaddi,"—the Great River, or the river that absorbs all other rivers. If we do not admit their appellation, it appears to me that we should distinguish the river by that of their country; I may therefore be pardoned if I call it the river of Congo.

An alluvial tract, overgrown with the mangrove, and intersected by numerous creeks, extends on both shores about seven or eight miles up the river, where the elevated and primitive soil begins. This mangrove tract is impenetrable, most of the trees growing in the water. The mangrove sends forth shoots at the joint of each branch, which, hanging down, and reaching the mud, take root, and each becomes a tree scarcely to be distinguished from the parent.

We passed several trading canoes with from ten to twenty men in each, who stopped alongside our boat to satisfy their curiosity. The canoes are hollowed out of the trunk of a palm tree, and are commonly about twenty-four feet in length, and eighteen or twenty inches in width. They are pushed forward with long paddles, the men standing upright. The cargoes of those which passed us were generally salt and palm nuts; in one there were also a boy and an elephant's tooth for sale.

On the 22d of July we reached a point on the

southern side of the river called Scotsman's head. This evening's sail was particularly pleasant; the lofty mangroves overhanging the boat, and palm trees vibrating in the breeze. Immense flocks of parrots alone broke the silence of the woods, towards sun-set; and we learnt that these birds cross the river from the northern side in the morning, to feed on the plantations of Indian corn on the southern, and return to their habitations in the evening.

Having passed a number of low islands covered with aquatic birds, on the 23d we lost the mangrove tract, and the river was bordered by low perpendicular banks of stiff clay. Hordes of negroes came down to the bank as we sailed along. Canoes were continually passing up and down the river, carrying negroes, for fishing, or for drawing wine from the palm trees. The palms as we proceeded increased in number, first forming groupes, and then forests, and the natives were seen on the shore, walking in the grass between the thickets. I went on shore on the northern side of the river, and saw, at a short distance, a village composed of huts made with neat mats. Calabashes were hanging on the trees to receive the palm wine, and traces of buffaloes were seen on the ground.

On the 25th I visited the *Fetish* rock, which runs into the river on the southern side, and rises perpendicularly from the plain behind it. *Fetish* is a very comprehensive word, and not very easily explained. It is derived from the Portuguese "feitiço," and signifies a charm. These charms are attached to the persons and dwellings of the negroes under a variety of forms; some are preservatives from poison, others from the effects of

thunder and lightning, others from ferocious or noxious animals; and so firm is the faith of the negro in his fetish that, if the very evil befall him from which it was designed to protect him, he believes it is owing to his having offended it. There is also some kind of divinity imputed to the fetish; for, if a man be about to commit an action that his conscience reproves him for, he covers his fetish that it may not witness the deed. The Fetish rock is considered as the abode of Scembi, the spirit that presides over the river, and it is ornamented with rude figures of men and animals. On the summit of one of the hills on the opposite side is a natural block of loose granite, with another block on the top, which is also held in great veneration. It is called *Taddi enzaxxi*, or the lightning stone, and has some resemblance of an artificial building.

I now learned that my black servant was a man of quality, of no less a family than that of the chenoo or chief of Embomma. His father had confided him, when a boy, to the care of a Liverpool captain, to be educated, or, according to his own expression, to "learn to make book," in England. This trader in human beings had found it less troublesome, and more advantageous, to teach him to make sugar in the West Indies, where he accordingly sold him; and from hence he had been transferred to the Cape, where I bought him. When we arrived at Lombee, the father and brother of my negro came on board, and met him with transport. They conducted him to the village, which, throughout the night, resounded with the beating of the drum, and the songs of rejoicing.

The next day my negro paid me a visit in full dress, his father having given him a silk coat embroidered with silver, which he wore over his own dirty banian and trowsers. He had a ship's cutlass suspended from a silk sash, and a black glazed hat with an enormous feather. He was carried to the boat in a hammock on the shoulders of two slaves, an umbrella was held over his head, and he was preceded by his father and other members of his family, and attended by twenty men armed with muskets.

The village of Lombee is situated on the northern side of the river, and consists of about a hundred huts. It is the port and market of Embomma; no trade whatever being carried on at the latter place, which is the residence of the chenoo. From one to three hundred persons are said to assemble at the market of Lombee; but we found it miserably supplied. We were only able to procure a few fowls, a dozen eggs, and some plantains, and they cost more than they would have done in a London market. The staple article of trade seemed to be salt; the wholesale dealers selling it to the retail by the basket, and these selling it to the consumer by the handful, at the rate of two handfuls for a money mat. The flesh of the hippopotamus is sometimes exposed for sale in this market. In the evening we anchored before the creek of the banza, or head, as the word signifies, of Embomma.

On the 27th I proceeded on a ceremonious visit to the chenoo, who had sent a hammock for me. It was exceedingly dirty; but had it been otherwise, I should have declined laying that burden upon the shoulders of negroes that nature intended I should



carry myself. After having walked an hour, first over a grassy plain, with a few plantations of Indian corn, and then over a hill, I reached Embomma, the residence of this petty sovereign. At the entrance of the village, I got into the hammock, and was set down under a great tree where all public business is transacted, the ground having been clean swept. Here the first objects that engaged my attention were four human skulls that were suspended from the tree. I was told that these were the heads of the enemy's chiefs, who had been taken in battle.

After having waited half an hour under the tree, I was conducted to the habitation of the chenoo. I entered a court fenced with mats made of reeds, and crowded with the chenoo's gentlemen. A seat was formed of three or four old chests, and covered with a red velvet pall; and a velvet pall, and an English carpet, were spread on the ground before it. I seated myself, and, in about five minutes, the chenoo advanced from behind a screen made of mats. He was dressed in a crimson plush jacket, with enormous gilt buttons; the cloth round his waist was of red velvet; his legs were wrapped in pink sarsnet, and the lower part cased in red morocco half boots. Round his neck hung a long string of ivory beads, and a large piece of coral. On his head was a prodigious high crowned hat, rendered still higher by a coronet of artificial flowers. I could have smiled at the ridiculous appearance of this little potentate, if I had not been checked by reflecting that his finery was the price of the liberty of his fellow creatures. The chenoo seated himself on my right hand. His master of the ceremonies,

who bore a long staff, inquired of the prince my interpreter, the rank of my several attendants, and seated them accordingly; and the native gentlemen squatted on bullock's hides.

I was now asked what I came for. I replied, "To see the country and the river." This was a motive the people could not comprehend, there being, in their opinion, only two objects that could induce a man to go far from home,—to make war, and to purchase slaves: they therefore repeated for two hours together, "Are you come to trade? Are you come to fight?" At length they seemed convinced I had come for neither of these purposes. When I said any thing that pleased them, and particularly when I shook hands with their chief, one of the principal men started up, and made motions with his arms, and at the end of every motion all the assembly struck their breasts. This ceremony is called a "sakilla."

A keg of rum, which was a part of my present, was now produced, and an English white wash-hand bason filled with it. The chenoo retired to order dinner, saying he drank only wine. The moment he disappeared, his people began to scramble for the rum; and one of them very ingeniously dropped his dirty cap into the bason, and sucked it with great satisfaction.

While we were seated in the court of audience, the chenoo's women, of whom he had fifty, were peeping out of one of the squares; and before he retired, he very politely offered me any one of his daughters. The courtiers as civilly offered their wives; and I was given to understand that the condescension of the ladies to strangers, when it had received the sanction of their fathers and his-

bands, was not inferior to that of the men. The faces of many of the women were prepossessing, and their forms elegant.

While dinner was preparing, we walked through the banza, or head village of Embomma, which is situated on a small plain on the summit of a hill, and contains about sixty habitations, each consisting of two or three huts, within a square inclosure of reeds woven into mats. The huts are composed of the same materials, and are formed with two side and two end pieces, which they call walls, and two others which make a sloping roof. The entrance is by a square opening in one of the sides, just large enough to creep in at ; and, opposite to this is a window. Both are closed at night with shutters of the same fabric as the walls. A house, ready to put together, may be purchased for the price of four fowls, and it may be made ready for occupation in five minutes.

The chenoo's habitation was surrounded by a double fence, forming an inner and an outer court. The latter contained one large apartment, rather better lighted and aired than the rest, with a number of huts on each side. In every corner was seen a fetish of sculptured figures, one of which was exactly that of Bacchus astride on a barrel, with the addition of a pipe in his mouth, and a spear on his shoulder. These representations of the human figure were rather less correct than those usually cut by children out of paper.

Our repast consisted of a soup of plantains and goat's flesh, a fowl cut in pieces and broiled, and roasted plantains instead of bread. It was served in the grand apartment, where some chests covered with carpets answered the purposes of table and

chairs. A few plates and mugs of earthenware, a few Venetian gilt glasses, and a few spoons and forks of silver, with a large silver tankard, were proofs of the commerce that subsisted between this petty sovereign and Europeans. Sweet palm wine in the tankard, and a part of the rum I had brought in a bottle, were placed on the table for our beverage.

When we had dined, I was sent for by the chenoo, and again questioned respecting my motive for coming into the country. At length an old man, who was the chenoo's uncle, started up, and plucking a leaf from a tree, held it towards me and said, "If you come to trade, swear by your God, and break the leaf." On my refusing to do so, he said, "Then swear by your God you do not come to make war, and break the leaf." On my doing this, the whole company performed a grand *sakilla*; the assembly broke up; and the chenoo retired to one of his huts, whither my present was carried to him.

The following day the chenoo returned my visit, attended by half a dozen of his sons and gentlemen. He expressed himself perfectly satisfied with my present, which I own I was not; he believing a tankard and a goblet, that formed a part of it, to be silver, and I knowing them to be only plated. I beg my reader to be assured that it was not in my power to substitute real plate for the semblance of it, or I would most gladly have done so. The rest of my present consisted of a piece of furniture cotton, a silk umbrella, and some beads. The further wishes of this negro prince were very modest; as he only requested that, on my return down the river, I would build him an

English house, leave him a boat, and give him a musket. The latter request I complied with immediately, and he was satisfied.

The next morning I visited the chenoo without ceremony, and found him seated on a mat in one of the courts of his habitation, distributing palm wine to his children and relations, consisting of about forty men and boys. A seat being placed for me, a palaver of half an hour ensued, in which I was obliged to repeat my assurances that I was not come to prevent the slave-trade, or to make war. The chenoo then led the way to an inclosure, in which were six fine cows, a young bull, and a calf, and selected one of the largest and fattest cows as a present to me. I found that this animal had been introduced by the Portuguese, and, though much neglected, it had multiplied considerably.

The banza of Embomma is supposed to contain about five hundred inhabitants, and is the only town in its district where several families have sufficient land in cultivation to enable them to live together. The land is cultivated by patches only, and the labour is performed by the women, whom we frequently saw in the fields, with their children, and baskets of provisions; the chenoo's daughters among the rest. The only plants we saw cultivated were cassava and maize, tobacco, and beans of two sorts. The cotton shrub was growing wild on the plains.

The other habitations of a district are called gentlemen's towns, each being the residence of a single, independent individual, with his wives, children, and slaves. The native appellation for one of these gentlemen is foomoo. The chenoo

of Embomma musters about a thousand muskets in time of war.

The small money in use is little mats, about eighteen inches square, made of the leaf of the bamboo, twenty of which would purchase a fowl.

It was now the winter of the country; the thermometer seldom rising above  $76^{\circ}$  in the day; and at night, during the heavy dews, we occasionally experienced, it fell to  $60^{\circ}$ . Fruits were scarce; the only sorts we saw at this time being long plantains, small bitter oranges, limes, and pumpkins.

The domestic animals, besides the cattle, which are scarcely established, are sheep, goats, swine of a small breed, a few dogs, and cats. The wild animals are elephants, in small numbers, buffaloes, which are said to be abundant, antelopes, and monkeys. The skins of leopards and tiger-cats were seen on the natives. Hippopotami and crocodiles appeared to be numerous.

The people of Embomma were, with very few exceptions, dressed in European clothing. The men manufacture caps and shawls of grass. Both men and women shave their heads in ornamental figures. Brides are always close shaven before they are presented to their husbands. Pendant breasts seem to be considered as beautiful; the young girls pressing their breasts downwards with a bandage. The women sometimes file the two front teeth, and raise cicatrices on the skins as well as the men.

Both men and women rise at day-light, and, after washing their skins, the better sort rub their bodies, down to the waist, with palm oil.

The mode of salutation is by gently clapping

the hands; and an inferior, at the same time, kneels and kisses the ancllet on the leg of the superior.

The persons of the women are entirely at the disposal of their fathers and husbands, and may be transferred by them how and when they please. But if the transfer take place unknown to the husband, he is at liberty to impose a fine upon the adulterer, to sell him for a slave, or to murder him, according to his inclination. During my stay at Embomma, a man who had been detected in adultery was offered to a slave trader for sale; but, being rejected, he was bound hands and feet, and thrown into the river.

Excepting one knife, which was stolen by a boy, we met with no instance of theft; and on one of the great men being informed of the loss, the persons who had been present were assembled under the great tree, and asked, individually, if they had taken it; when the boy confessed, and produced it.

Different kinds of food are abstained from by particular persons who, having constituted a fowl, or any other thing, their fetish, that is, their guardian, out of respect will not eat it. Men will not eat of fowl, eggs, or pumpkins, till a woman have tasted it to take off the fetish. When we killed our cow, the chenoo sent one of his men to take the fetish piece for the *gangam*, or priest; and I could not but observe that the fetish piece was one of the best.

On the 2d of August I shook hands with the chenoo of Embomma, giving him, as a parting token of friendship, two yards of scarlet cloth, two jars of rum, an amber necklace, and some

plates and dishes. In return, he gave me two pilots, and three of his sons as guides.

In returning from this visit, we passed a hut in which was lying the corpse of a woman, drest as when living. Within the hut, four women were howling; and without, two men were leaning their faces against the wall, and joining in the funeral yell. We were told that these lamentations were repeated for four successive days after the death of a friend, and that they continued an hour each day. The natives shewed some reluctance to let us see the burying-ground; but, after a little persuasion, two or three of them led us to it. We found it about two hundred yards from the village, among a few rugged trees and bushes. Two graves were now preparing for gentlemen. They were nine feet long and five broad, and at this time nine feet deep; but I was told that they would be dug in depth equal to the height of the tallest palm-tree. One of the old graves had an elephant's tooth at each end; all had broken jars, mugs, glass bottles, and other vessels stuck upon them. Young trees had been planted round some of them; but all were dead, except one.

My interpreter requested a piece of cloth to envelope the body of his aunt, who had been dead seven years, and was to be buried in two months, being now arrived at a proper size to be interred according to her rank. The corpse is preserved for so long a time only by the successive pieces of cloth that are wrapped round it, as they can be procured by the relations of the deceased. In the case of a rich man the bulk is only limited by the power of conveying it to the grave; and the first but in which the body is preserved becoming too



small, it is removed into a second, a third, and even to a sixth, according to its increasing dimensions.

These people keep their account of time by moons, and their knowledge of any event seldom extends beyond half a dozen.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

### EMBOMMA TO SOONDY N'SANGA.

**L**EAVING the village of Embomma, I went on shore opposite to the island of that name, where I found one of the trees called baobab that measured forty-two feet in girth near the ground, and retained nearly the same circumference to the height of thirty feet.

On the 6th of August we proceeded up the river, which ran between two high ridges of rocky hills. Several small valleys appeared between the hills, and in these were some plantations of corn and manioca, and many palm trees. On the northern shore was a hanging precipice, which might not unaptly be termed the Lover's Leap; the wives of the chenoo who are convicted of adultery, together with their seducers, being precipitated from the summit into the river.

On the 7th the greatest rise of the water was observed, from the mark left on the rocks, to have been  $9\frac{1}{2}$  feet. This day we crossed over to the southern side of the river, near the village of

Sooka Congo. On the summit of one of the hills, under which we passed close, were upwards of twenty monkeys, which, from their stature and their black faces, we should certainly have taken for negroes, had we not seen their tails.

On the 8th several persons came on board from the banza of Noki, which is situated on the south of the river ; and on the 10th I visited the chenoo of this district. To reach the residence of this chief, we had a most fatiguing march of two hours ; sometimes scrambling up the sides of almost perpendicular hills ; sometimes proceeding on their summits, thinly scattered over with brushwood ; and sometimes descending into valleys covered with luxuriant vegetation. In two of these valleys we found villages, differing in no respect from that of Embomma, except that the roofs of the huts were circular. The village of Noki is situated on the level summit of the highest hill, amidst palm trees, and plantations of vegetables, among which we saw young cabbages in great perfection.

In a few minutes we were ushered into the presence of the chenoo, whom we found seated with two great officers, with much more savage magnificence, and less of European manner, than the chief of Embomma. The seats were covered with the skins of lions and leopards, as was also the ground before them. To tread upon these is a crime punished with slavery, even if the delinquent be of the highest rank ; and the care with which the courtiers stepped clear of them was a proof that they had not forgotten the penalty.

The chenoo, in addition to a red cloak laced with gold, wore an extraordinary high cap of the

white feathers of the heron. One of the great men had on an old hat, and the other a coronet, with a large button of coloured glass, the refuse of a European theatre. Contemptible, as well as degrading! How much inferior to the spoils of the native lion and leopard, even if the means that procured them were the same. In my own country I have seen a solemn, sober, little ass attired in the huge head-piece and winkers of a coach-horse, plodding quietly along, unconscious of the ridicule he excited.

The assembly was composed of about fifty persons, who squatted on the sand. My interpreter having explained the motive of my journey, the chenoo granted me two guides, as far as the cataract of Yellala, beyond which, he said, the country was unknown to him and his people. The palaver being over, the chenoo apologized for having no meat dressed, and directed a small pig to be carried to the boat. During this audience, boys, of all ages, down to four or five years old, composed a part of the assembly; and the young urchins paid the utmost attention to the discourse of the men, and expressed their approbation by clapping their hands.

On our return from the town of Noki, we were conducted by a slave merchant along the summits of hills that were very fertile, and in great part cultivated, till we arrived at his town; that is, the residence of himself and his family. Here we were agreeably surprised to find a repast prepared, consisting of a stewed fowl, and stewed beans, both highly seasoned, and cassava bread. The back ground of the court was filled with women and girls, who were separated by an open space from

the men and boys. As we approached the river, we had to ascend and descend such a succession of steep and barren hills and rocks, that it almost required the legs of flies to crawl over them. The town of Noki is not more than three miles distant from the river, in a direct line ; but it is seven or eight by the circuitous way we took.

The next day I received a visit from a princess and two of the chenoo's daughters, who brought with them for sale, a fowl, half a dozen eggs, and a small basket of beans. In consideration of the rank of these ladies, and also of the scarcity of provisions, I purchased the articles at twice their value. We understood that one of these princesses has the right of choosing her husband, and changing him as often as she pleases ; while he is obliged to have no other wife, under the penalty, if he be a private person, of being sold for a slave.

It appearing that one of the guides sent me by the chenoo was totally ignorant of the country, I sent him back. A slave was then brought to me, bound neck and heels with small cords. This man came from an interior province, and said that he had been taken by a slave-catcher, while walking near his father's house. As he had some knowledge of the language of Congo, I purchased him, giving him instantly his liberty, and causing him to be told, that I considered him only as my servant. Probably he could not make the distinction between slavery and servitude with a white man for his master ; for he expressed no satisfaction when his cords were taken off.

In concluding this bargain I had a specimen of the tedious manner of transacting business among

the negro traders ; the intervention of the *mafook*, or officer of revenue, the *mambook*, or war-minister, and a broker, each of whom expected a piece of cloth, and as much brandy as he could drink, being necessary between me and the owner of the slave. To this may be added the indecision of the seller, who, if he be the possessor of a single fowl, examines the articles offered him fifty times, giving them back, taking them again, exchanging them for others ; and, after putting patience to the test for an hour, often taking up his property, and going away, because he cannot obtain twice as much for it as he asked at first.

On the following day we passed several whirlpools. The most distant hill in view, we were told, was that of Yellala ; but the only information I could obtain respecting Yellala was, that it was the residence of the evil spirit, and that whoever saw it once would never see it again.

On the 18th we came to Casan Yellala, Yellala's wife, a ledge of rocks stretching from the northern shore, about two thirds across the river ; the whole breadth of which here did not exceed a mile. From hence I set out by land the following morning, on the northern side of the river, taking with me some of my people and four days' provisions. Our route lay at first along narrow foot-paths, which led over difficult hills, and afterwards over level fertile lands. In four hours we reached the town of Cooloo, from whence I had been informed I should see the cataract of Yellala. At the farther end of the town we saw the fall, and, most unexpectedly, found it almost under our feet ; but instead of the foaming cataract held in such

horror by the natives, we saw only the water bubbling over its rocky bed. I did not, however, forget that I saw it in the dry season.

I went to examine the fall more closely ; and I found, that although the road did not extend a mile from the town, what it wanted in distance it abundantly made up in difficulty, descending an enormous hill, and running up a smaller, to the precipice which overhung the river. The fall was about 30 feet perpendicular, in a slope of 300 yards. The water rises here twelve feet in the rainy season. The river, both above and below the fall, was obstructed by rocks as far as the eye could reach.

Disappointed in my expectation of seeing a grand cataract, and equally disappointed to find it sufficient to stop the progress of my boat, I climbed back to the town, exhausted with fatigue.

As soon as I was a little recovered, I waited on the chenoo of Cooloo, and found less pomp and noise, and more civility and hospitality than from the chiefs of Embomma and Noki. This chenoo made me a present of six fowls, without asking for any return ; but though this was the largest banza, or head town I had seen, it containing about a hundred huts, and from five to six hundred inhabitants, I could not procure either a sheep, a goat, or a pig.

The next day I engaged a guide to conduct me above the falls by a circuitous route ; the hills close to the river being impassable by any thing but a goat. After four hours most fatiguing march, I again got sight of the river ; but I found that these four hours had brought me only four

miles above Yellala. The river was still obstructed by rocks, which, in some places, ran quite across. In this day's journey we had crossed three deep ravines, the beds of torrents in the rainy season, but now quite dry. The setting sun obliged us to halt, and we passed the night near a fine spring of water.

The next morning, after passing a village, I ascended the highest of the hills that skirt the northern side of this part of the river of Congo, and from the summit I had a view of the water for about five miles downwards. It was still filled with rocks, over which the current foamed with violence. Judging by the eye, the river was here not more than a quarter of a mile broad; and I estimated the distance from Yellala at twelve or fourteen miles.

I now returned to the town of Cooloo, which I did not reach till eight o'clock in the evening. It was with great difficulty that I could prevail upon the guide to go on, after sun-set, through his fears of wild beasts and of the darkness. Every five minutes he sounded a whistle, which had been fettered by the gangam, and of course both beasts and spirits fled at the sound. The only traces of animals we saw this day were those of buffaloes.

In this excursion I found palm wine exceedingly refreshing; but, owing to the long drought, it was now so scarce, that though every banza and gentleman's town was surrounded by from twenty to two hundred palm trees, I sometimes could not procure it, even in exchange for brandy. The rainy season had, for the two preceding years, been very moderate, and the lighter rains, which usually

happen in June, had been entirely wanting ; but it was expected that, on this account, the ensuing rains would be proportionably violent, and the people were now preparing for them by fresh covering their huts.

The higher we proceeded, the fewer European articles were possessed by the natives. The country grass-cloth now formed the clothing of the common people ; and gourds were the substitutes for glass-bottles and earthen mugs. The sole dress of the women was an apron before and another behind, leaving the hips uncovered. From every town which I passed, they flocked to look at the white men. They shook hands with me, without any timidity ; but they had by no means the freedom of manners of the women near the coast.

On the 22d of August I left Cooloo, with the intention of proceeding on foot as far as possible on the northern side of the river of Congo. At noon we reached the village of Manzy, about nine miles north of Cooloo, where I purchased, at an extravagant price, a pig of fifteen pounds weight. At four o'clock we came to a deep ravine, about 120 feet in breadth, the bed of a vast torrent, which still retained a quantity of excellent water. The sides of the ravine were thinly clothed with wood, among which were trees, perfectly straight, from 80 to 100 feet high, and 18 inches in diameter. The country we had passed over might be from eight to twelve miles distant from the river, and was more hilly and barren than any we had passed before. In this ravine we halted for the night ; and the reflection of our fires on the trees



and rocks, with the black men, each cooking his supper, might have furnished an interesting subject for a painter.

At day-light we were roused by the chattering of monkeys and parrots, joined with the scream of the crested toucan, and the cry of a species of goat-sucker. We then found that the shade and humidity of the ravine had rendered it the headquarters of an army of mosquitoes, and that my tent had been pitched over a colony of ants. Both, however, had the forbearance to let us escape untouched. At seven o'clock in the morning we pursued our journey over a difficult tract of hills intersected by ravines, and at eleven we found ourselves on the brink of the river, whose channel was filled with rocks. At noon we reached the banza of Inga, which is situated on the flat summit of a hill, and surrounded by palm trees and baobabs.

The chenoo of Inga was blind; but a palaver was immediately held to enquire the reason of the white men coming. Being satisfied with my explanation, it was determined to supply me instantly with a guide to conduct me to the place where the river again became navigable for canoes, which was said to be only half a day's journey distant: but this was granted only on condition of my paying a jar of brandy, and dressing four officers in two yards of cloth each. When all was concluded, I was informed that I could not have the guide till the next morning. Eager to proceed on my journey, and irritated by disappointment and anxiety, I drew up my armed followers, and threatened to proceed by force. I was soon made

sensible of my imprudence : the palaver broke up ; the women and children, who had flocked to see the white men, disappeared ; the people I had brought with me from Cooloo vanished ; and I was left in possession of the town.

Finding this would not facilitate my progress, I dispatched my interpreter to the macaya, or civil magistrate, who is always the eldest of the chenoo's brothers, with a conciliating message ; and in about an hour the great officers appeared again, attended by about fifty men, fourteen of whom were armed with muskets. The mambouk, or war-minister, who is always a relation of the chenoo, rose, and made a long speech, appealing now and then to the common people, who all answered with a kind of howl. During this oration, he held in his hand the war-kissey, which was composed of buffalo's hair and dirty rags, and which, as we afterwards understood, he occasionally invoked to break the locks, and wet the powder, of our muskets.

As I had no intention of going to war with the men of Inga, I advanced, and seating myself by the macaya, I shook him by the hand, and expressed my desire to be at peace, provided I were assured of having a guide by day-light the next morning. This was promised ; but on condition of the great officers receiving double the quantity of cloth.

Inga is about 180 miles above Cape Padron, and contained about 70 huts, and 300 inhabitants. The chenoo could command about two hundred fighting men, one hundred of whom he could arm with muskets ; and, with this force, he conceived himself to be the terror of his enemies.

The people of Inga had never before seen a white man. The only European articles we saw here were a small jug, and some rags of clothing.

Day appeared, and no guide; I therefore secretly promised one of the great men a piece of cloth for his good offices. He immediately offered himself as a guide, and five of his boys to carry our provisions; and at eleven o'clock we left Inga. In passing through the town, we saw a blacksmith fitting a hoe into a handle; his bellows were composed of two sheep-skins, and his anvil was a large stone.

Our route lay chiefly along the winding bottom of a fertile valley, in which we found two towns, surrounded by plantations of manioca that grew up almost to the height of trees. A flock of between twenty and thirty goats was an ovel sight; but, as the owner was absent, I could not purchase any. The women sold us some manioca, and gave us a jar of water. At the upper end of the valley we found a complete village of ant-hills. They were each in the shape of a mushroom, and very large; but some had double or treble domes, the upper one evidently intended to carry off the rain. At four o'clock we arrived at the river, at Mavoonda Boaya, where we found it lined with rocks, and vast heaps of sand; but free from all obstruction in the middle, for the space of from two to three hundred yards in breadth. The narrows had continued about forty miles, the river being generally from 300 to 500 yards in breadth, and bristled with rocks.

In a few hours I was visited by the macaya of Mavoonda, who treated me with great civility. I here received very distinct information respecting

the course of the river. A day's journey, or about ten miles, above Mavoonda, it was said to be obstructed by another fall; being crossed by a ledge of slate rocks called a sangalla. Beyond this was another sangalla. After ten day's sailing in a canoe was a large sandy island, which made two channels; one to the north-west, and the other to the north-east. In the latter channel was a fall, but canoes were easily got above it. And in twenty days above the island the river issued, by many small streams, from a great marsh, or lake of mud.

Here then, it appears to me, is the termination of the conjecture that the Niger and the river of Congo are the same. I am a traveller; not a geographer; and, with all humility I speak it, I should as soon have looked for the Niger in the Ganges\*.

From Mavoonda I made an excursion to the first sangalla. It was sun-set when we reached it, and in returning I perceived that my guide had lost his way. We scrambled over rocks, with infinite fatigue, for an hour, and then penetrated through a close wood, the first we had seen, till it was quite dark. Seeing a fire on the side of a hill, and hearing human voices, we halloed to the men; and at length one of them came down, and conducted us through thick underwood, where we were almost obliged to crawl, and through grass twice our own height, to a clear spot on the side

\* It is said that a Frenchman of the name of D'Elomville, having cured a dangerous wound of the Mani Congo, attended him on an expedition of more than four hundred leagues in the interior, and that he traced the course of the river of Congo, and saw the lakes it forms in its progress.

of a hill. Here a little water, brought us by the wives of these Bushmen, for they had no hut, was our supper, and the broken granite stones our bed. In the morning we returned to Mavoonda.

The people of Mavoonda were greatly astonished on seeing the movements of a watch and a pocket-compass, particularly at the needle always pointing to the same spot on the river. On the first of September it was observed that the river had begun to rise.

On the 2d of September I quitted Mavoonda, and proceeded up the river by land. My baggage was carried by black men; and I found these the most provoking animals of burden I ever employed. At one o'clock we dined near a stream of water, the only one we had seen large enough to turn a mill. At six I pitched my tent; but in the middle of the night I was driven out of it by a legion of ants, and was obliged to take refuge, from the torment they occasioned, on the grass, though it was now wet with showers.

The next day, on the summit of one of the hills, we met a cafilah of slaves on their way to Embomma. The traders, who were eight in number, carried muskets; and the slaves, twenty-two in number, were loaded with casava and ground nuts, some of which were kindly given to us. One man and four boys were from the Soonda country, and all said they had been taken in the bushes. One of the boys uttered the most violent screams on seeing the white men, and even the children of seven or eight years old, held fast by the hand of their owners while we were present. At three o'clock we arrived at the bank of the river a little above the upper sangalla, which is a ledge of rocks run-

ning quite across it, and forming a catatact larger than that of Yellala. About a mile beyond this the river greatly expanded, and the land on each side became lower, though it was still barren and destitute of wood. In a creek called Condo Yonga we passed the night in the hearing of the continual grunting of hippopotami.

On the third day from Inga, with much difficulty, I procured two canoes, to ferry us over the creek; for which service I paid eight yards of cloth and six strings of beads. As soon as the baggage was placed in the canoes, my porters desired to return; but, as they had engaged to go to Bamba Yonga, the fear of losing their wages at length induced them to proceed. They had not walked more than a mile on the other side of the creek, when they laid down their loads, and refused to go any farther. In this manner they harassed me till noon; laying down their loads when they had walked ten minutes; walking back fifty or sixty yards as if they were going to leave me; then returning, and after a palaver of half an hour, taking up their loads. Wearied with these repeated delays, I halted for the night on the eminence that bounded the river, about eight miles above the last night's station.

The river here expanded to three miles in breadth, and the country was more populous than before: the gentlemen's towns forming a continued chain of buildings from our having crossed the creek. Provisions also seemed more plentiful; several goats, pigs, and fowls having been brought for sale. Among the crowd that surrounded my tent, only two or three of the foomos, or gentlemen, had any European clothing.

On the fourth day, finding it impossible to get canoes without the intervention of the chenoo of Yonga, I sent forward my guide of Inga, with a piece of chintz, to be divided among his great men. Having given to my prince interpreter and my other Embomma man a dress of chintz each, they amused me by performing a war-dance, a hunting-dance, a love-dance, and a pantomime. In the war-dance, the performer looks about from side to side, as if expecting an enemy; and flourishes a sword, which he holds in his hand, half a dozen times towards the quarter in which the enemy is supposed to appear. He advances, his eyes glowing with fire, and returns triumphant; while the spectators alternately clap their hands and strike their breasts.

Crocodiles are numerous here, It is said that they frequently carry off the women who go down to the river for water, and that one of the party is usually employed in throwing large stones into the water, while the others are filling their calabashes. Only one was killed by my people: its length was nine feet three inches, its circumference at the shoulders three feet seven.

A foomoo waited on me with a present of a goat, for which I gave him four yards of chintz, and a necklace. This gentleman promised to procure me two canoes.

On the fifth day of my journey from Inga, with much difficulty, I hired two canoes, which would barely carry eight men each; and as these could not contain all my people, I walked along the shore with the others. We came to a bay in which were ten hippopotami, and, as the canoes could not venture among these huge animals, we

fired volleys at them from the shore, which, together with the exorcism of our old guide, drove them away. The river now, for the first time had a majestic appearance. The land on each side was moderately elevated ; but still it was almost destitute of wood. At six o'clock in the evening we anchored in a fine bay named Covinda. The night presented a beautiful picture of repose. The scenery was fine, the water was still, and the moon shed her tranquil light around us.

On the sixth day the morning set in with light rain, and the river had risen three inches in the night. I bought a goat at Covinda, and found the people very civil. At eight o'clock we pursued our course, and opened upon beautiful scenery ; fine grassy coves, and rocks resembling ruined castles. Having passed many marble promontories, at one o'clock we stopped to dine. Here a boxing-match took place between two of the canoe-men about a little salt. They both used their fists with much science ; and after each had received a hearty drubbing, the affair was amicably adjusted by the interference of their companions, and the two combatants performed a dance. At four we reached a rocky promontory ; and here, crossing the river, and discharging the canoes, I encamped in a fine grassy cove on the southern side. Both ends of the reach being shut in by the land, the river presented the appearance of a beautiful mountain-lake.

On the seventh day of our journey from Inga, I procured six men to carry my baggage that day and the next ; and after palavering from eight o'clock till eleven, we set out. At noon we reached Masoondy, where my porters lived, and



they set down their loads, and marched off to dine. It was two hours before I could assemble them again.

We now passed over a very hilly country, with some fertile spots on the sides and summits of the hills, and in the valleys; but there was a total want of trees, except in the ravines, and around the great towns, which were here very numerous. At half past three we came to the river, at about ten miles distance from our last night's encampment. The reach formed a fine expanse of water from four to five miles in breadth, and free from rocks. The northern shore was edged by a fine sandy beach, behind which was a line of trees, and beyond this the shore rose gradually till it terminated in bare hills: the southern shore was steep and rocky. The natives all agreed that they knew of no impediment to navigation farther up the river.

On the eighth day, after some rain, we proceeded through a country more fertile, and with more land prepared for cultivation than any we had seen. After the long reedy grass has shed its seed, it is cut down and placed in small heaps, which are covered with a layer of mould, and set on fire. In the spots of ashes thus formed are planted the peas and the Indian corn, and in the spaces between them the manioc. The next rains bring again a crop of grass from the seeds deposited by the former.

After travelling two hours, we reached the gentleman's town of Vookey-filou, where my porters had a long palaver for palm wine, which I was obliged to purchase at a high rate before they would move a step farther. Unfortunately I spilt some of it at the foot of my gentleman guide;

upon which he left me in a most violent rage, taking all his men with him. I now learned that, next to pointing a musket at a gentleman, the grossest insult that could be offered him was the spilling of palm wine. After making an apology for my want of politeness, and making him a present of three bunches of beads, it was full two hours before my guide would shake hands with me, and call back his men.

The houses here were larger than below.

At two o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at the head of a deep reach called Soondy N'Sanga, where we halted to dine. After our repast was ended, my porters refused to proceed any farther, asserting that they had already walked two days; and finding all my persuasions unavailing, I pitched my tent at this place.

Here I was about a hundred miles above Inga, and two hundred and eighty from Cape Padron; and here I was obliged to return. "What!" says one of the readers of these Travels, "when the river was no longer obstructed by rocks! and the country more fertile and better inhabited!" I can assure this reader, whoever he may be, that he cannot more ardently wish me to have traced the river of Congo in the unknown countries through which it flows, than I did myself; but I hope he will agree with me that this was impracticable.

I had walked over steep and rocky hills, and inhaled the atmosphere of an African river; which, though its banks were destitute of the luxuriant vegetation attendant upon some others, might yet, and I believe did, produce an exhalation injurious to life. While anxious to advance on my journey, I had experienced delays and impediments from

every individual who could retard my progress. My health was giving way before these accumulated evils. I had no beasts of burden. I had employed men to carry my baggage, till they would proceed no farther ; I had hired canoes, till I was obliged to give them up ; I had hired men, who refused to advance another step. If these reasons prove unsatisfactory, I have one other ; I had now little baggage to carry. Chenoos and their officers had been so rapacious for presents ; and the demands of the common people for provisions and labour had been so exorbitant, that I had scarcely cloth enough left to carry me to the vessel.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

### MANNERS OF CONGO, AND RETURN.

**T**HE features of the natives of Congo are of the negro cast ; but are not so strongly marked as those of negroes in general, nor is their skin so black. Both sexes paint themselves with red ochre, and before a bride is conducted to her husband she is besmeared with it from head to foot. The men also mark their arms and forehead with both red and white clay. The chenoos sometimes wear bracelets of lion's teeth.

Boys are taken from their mothers as soon as they can walk, and the father sits with them upon a mat the whole day. Girls are left under the care of the mother. If a man get a few beads of different colours, he sits at home, stringing them,

and placing them according to his fancy ; while his wife is abroad, gathering fuel, or tilling the ground.

Fleas and bugs swarm in all the huts.

The people of Congo eat wild honey whenever they can find it ; but they do not take the trouble to search for it. They will live for a day on a little raw manioca and water, and a pipe of tobacco ; but they devoured all the meat I would give them. They broil fowls with the feathers on, and pieces of goat with the skin and hair. When a sheep was flayed, the captive I purchased near Noki privately conveyed away the skin, with the wool upon it ; this he had thrown upon a smoky fire till just warmed through, and, when discovered, he had nearly eaten the whole. A kind of reed, called Sangala woo, is always kept fresh in the houses ; it is chewed, but not swallowed.

Three or four people usually had, or pretended to have, a share in a goat ; and even a fowl, when brought to us, had generally two owners. If there happened to be an odd bead, this created a dispute.

They have no arms, but knives and a few musquets ; no shot, but small rounded stones. They make their wooden spoons, and the hafts and sheaths of their knives, with great neatness. The calabashes are of all sizes, and the small ones, which are used for holding the dust of dried tobacco leaves, or snuff, are generally ornamented with rude figures of men and animals, cut in high or low relief. The larger, which are sometimes a yard in diameter, are used for washing-tubs and all sorts of domestic purposes. The canoes are made far up in the country ; and it is said that the

making of a canoe will occupy one man for three months.

The people of Congo have an immoderate fondness for dancing, especially on moonlight nights. They have songs on love, war, palm wine, and various other subjects.

The *mafooks*, or officers who collect the revenues arising from trade, had from ten to twenty wives each.

The houses of the *chenoos* have several posts along the sides and ends, and are lined with palm leaves, and covered externally with the ribs of palm leaves, bound together with a creeping plant, in regular zig-zag figures. A mat of grass, thrown over palm leaves, is their bed.

When a *chenoo* appears abroad, one of his officers carries before him his staff of authority, which is a small stick of black wood, about a foot in length, inlaid with lead or copper in the form of the worm of a screw, with another such worm crossing it. The office of the *chenoo* is hereditary; but, on every demise, the viceroy sends a cap to the successor, as the investiture of his dignity. The *chenoo*, in his turn, appoints his officers by sending them caps.

In their warlike expeditions, the elders of the *chenoo's* family remain behind to take care of the town, while his sons and brothers usually command the forces under him. All the women are sent away before the war commences; all the men under the government of the *chenoo* are obliged to fight. They fire into the houses of their enemies at night; cut off the heads of the prisoners if they are chiefs, and burn the bodies. Some *foomoo* at length makes peace between the contend-

ing parties, when each keeps the trophies, and puts up with the losses.

The *figus religiosa* is planted in every market-place, and is considered here, as in the east, a sacred tree. My people having piled their muskets against one of these, and the points of some bayonets sticking in the bark, a great clamour was raised till they were removed.

The negroes of Congo believe in a good and an evil principle, which are both supposed to reside in the sky. The former sends rain, the latter withholds it; but they do not seem to consider either of them as possessing any other influence over human affairs. After death they all take their place in the sky, and enjoy a happy existence, without any regard being paid to their good or bad actions, while here below.

Each town has a grand *kissey*, or presiding divinity. It is the figure of a man, the body stuck with feathers, rags, and bits of iron, and resembles nothing so much as one of our scarecrows. The chenoo of Cooloo had a *kissey*, so redoubtable that if any person attempted to shoot at it, he would fall down dead, and the flint would drop out of the musket. This powerful divinity was the figure of a man, about two feet high, rudely carved in wood, and covered with rags. One of my people, by means of a handsome present, prevailed upon the chenoo to let him encounter the *kissey*; and the time was fixed for the following morning. But in the evening a palaver was held in the town, the result of which was, that, in the morning, the chenoo came, attended by nearly all the inhabitants, to solicit my interference to pre-

vent the battle. He said, with great anxiety in his countenance, that, if the kissey were hit, all the neighbouring chenoos would make war upon him immediately.

Each house has also its particular divinities, which are invoked on all occasions, and are included in the term fetish, mentioned before. When a man applies to a gangam, or priest, for a domestic fetish, he is told from what sorts of food he must abstain. Children are forbidden to eat the food that is fetished to their fathers. Women are not to eat meat the day that it is killed.

A gangam passed through the town of Cooloo, attended by his drum-beater, with the instruments of his profession,—a large drum, a number of calabashes filled with small stones, and a dozen fetishes. This personage was on his way to a neighbouring village, from whence he had been sent for, to discover the cause of the death of one of the inhabitants. On the following day he returned, and we learned that he had denounced three men of another village as the poisoners of the deceased; and that they were immediately to undergo the ordeal of chewing poisonous bark, which, if they were guilty, would remain on their stomachs, and occasion their deaths, and, if innocent, they would vomit up instantly. The gangams did not appear to be numerous, the one I saw here having come from a considerable distance. Each has usually a novice with him, whom he initiates into the mysteries of his profession, and who succeeds him after his death. Their pay consists of money mats, of which this man had received a large bundle.

Poisoning is the only kind of murder committed

in secret. If a man poison an equal, he is decapitated, and the body is burnt; if a superior, the limbs are amputated while the culprit remains alive, and are sent severally to the principal towns; and all his male relations, even infants at the breast, are put to death. The frequent occurrence of this crime has established the invariable custom of the person who presents food to the master first tasting it himself; and the master performs the same ceremony to his visitor. This the negroes who speak English call taking off the fetish.

If a theft be discovered, all the persons implicated are brought before the priest. After throwing himself into violent contortions, which are supposed to proceed from the inspirations of the kissey, he points out the thief, who is immediately taken to be sentenced by a palaver. If the man prove his innocence, the kissey has deceived the priest.

The best information to be obtained respecting the history of the present time is, that Lindy, or Blindy, or Blandy Congo is the paramount sovereign of the country, and resides at Banza Congo, six days' journey on the south of the river; that the government on the opposite sides of the river is committed to two viceroys, Sandy Congo, or Benzy Congo, on the north, and Cercula Congo on the south, both of whom reside in the interior. The chenoo of Inga receives his cap from Benzy Congo, who is said to reside ten days' journey to the north-west of that town. Perhaps it may not be uninteresting to trace some particulars respecting this people from the accounts of Europeans.

In 1480 the Portuguese discovered the river of Congo,



In 1490 Ruy de Sousa, ambassador from the king of Portugal, proceeded to the residence of the king of Congo, which was then called Ambassi. When the Portuguese were on the road from the coast to the capital, which was situated about 150 miles from the sea, so great was the number of people who flocked to see them, that the whole country seemed covered with spectators. All the road was swept clean, and every obstruction removed, and the Portuguese were abundantly supplied with provisions and necessities by the way. When they had travelled three days, they were met by a number of officers belonging to the court, who were sent to meet them by the king ; and when they arrived within three miles of the city, the whole court came to welcome them. De-luded king, and mistaken courtiers ! they knew not that the Portuguese would buy and sell the people ! So great was the multitude assembled in the town, that every tree and every eminence was filled. The ambassadors and the priests were received with transport ; the king and his courtiers were baptized ; and the city received the name of Saint Salvador, from a church that was built and dedicated to our Saviour.

While nothing more than baptism was required, people were eager to embrace the Christian religion. But when the monks insisted that a Christian should marry one wife, and put away the rest, it became another affair. The wives of the negro are his servants in the house, and his labourers in the field ; and he who had been accustomed to possess the labour of a hundred, fifty, or even two, of these, was not likely to be content with one. This accordingly occasioned great opposition, in

which the ladies took a part ; for it is said that those who were separated from their husbands, “ blasphemed and cursed the new religion at an extravagant rate.”

A bishop was afterwards sent to visit the Conghese ; and the road to the capital was not only swept, but mats were laid in every village in which he might alight ; especial orders having been sent to all the chiefs not to suffer the foot of the prelate to be set upon the bare ground.

A Portuguese who arrived at Congo in the year 1578, and resided many years at St. Salvador, gives the following account of that city and its inhabitants.

Banza signifies the town in which a king or governor resides. Banza Congo, or St. Salvador, is situated on the summit of a high rocky mountain, above the river Lelunde, about 150 miles from the sea. On the top of the mountain is a large plain, in the south-east angle of which is the Portuguese town, surrounded by a wall. The palace of the king is also inclosed by a wall, which, as well as that of the Portuguese town, is about a mile in circumference. Between the two is a large open space, which is the market-place, on one side of which is the principal church ; the habitations of the great men open upon this square. Beyond these buildings the summit of the mountain is full of villages, and the habitations of great men, each of which is itself a village. The whole plain is fertile and well cultivated. The air is wholesome, and water is plentiful, but the best is fetched from below. The plain is about ten miles in circumference, and is inhabited by not fewer

than 100,000 persons. The winding ascent of the mountain, by the great road, is five miles.

The houses are constructed with wood, and covered with straw, only one story high, but divided into several apartments, which are lined with beautiful mats. They are built within inclosures formed with branches of trees, and covered with mats.

The Conghese wove curious cloths of the fibres of the palm leaf, some with a nap, like velvet, others with a pattern, like damask. In ancient times these cloths formed the apparel of the sovereign and his courtiers. They were covered from the waist downwards with a cloth of palm leaf, which was fastened with a girdle of the same materials curiously wrought. Over this was an apron of the skin of the tiger-cat, or some other animal. On the shoulders they wore a cape, and on the body a round garment reaching to the knees, woven like a net, with palm leaf fibres, with a number of small tassels of the same thread round the bottom. This was turned up on the right side, and fastened to the shoulder, to leave the right arm at liberty, and from that shoulder hung the tail of a zebra. On their heads they wore very small caps of red and yellow, and on their feet shoes made of palm tree wood. The common people wore a garment, from the waist downwards, like that of the great, but of coarser materials; the rest of the body was naked.

Women of the better sort wore three different garments below the girdle; the first reaching to the feet, the second shorter, and the upper one shorter still, and edged with fringes. These were all bound round the waist and wrapped over before,

The body was covered with a waistcoat, and the shoulders with a sort of cloak. The cap resembled that of the men. Every thing was manufactured with the thread of palm leaf. Servants, and women of the lowest class, were only clothed from the girdle downwards.

After the establishment of the Portuguese at St. Salvador, the negro king and his courtiers wore wide jackets, cloaks, and tabarts, of cloth or silk; hats or caps, slippers of velvet or leather, and long swords; and their wives wore veils, black velvet caps adorned with jewels, and chains of gold about the neck. All others retained the dress of the country.

The sovereign of Congo adopted, in some instances the manners, as well as the habit of the Portuguese. When he dined in public, he had a table, which was placed on a raised platform covered with Indian tapestry; his chair was covered with crimson velvet, with nails and ornaments of gold; his sideboard was covered with gold and silver plate. He ate alone; the princes standing about him, with their heads covered.

He seldom, continues the Portuguese traveller of 1578, goes out of his palace; and before he goes, his guards sound their instruments, which may be heard at the distance of five or six miles, to signify that the king is going abroad. On such occasions he is attended by his courtiers, and by the Portuguese, in whom he places great confidence. Twice a week he gives public audience, but no man ever speaks to him except through his ministers. There are few disputes in Congo, as all power and all property is derived immediately from the king. In criminal cases a man is rarely condemned to

death. The king generally confines him to some desert island ; for he considers this a greater punishment than to end life at a stroke. If it happen that the criminal survive ten or twelve years, the king commonly pardons him ; and, if he be of any consideration, employs him in the service of the state, as a person well disciplined, and enured to hardship.

Before the introduction of Christianity, the common people were distinguished by the names of birds, beasts, plants, and stones. The chiefs had the title of mani, or lord, prefixed to the name of the place which they governed ; the king himself being called Mani Congo, Lord of Congo. The people called themselves Makiconghi.

In 1642 some Dutch ambassadors were sent to the King of Congo. They had their audience at night, and were conducted through a passage 200 yards in length, between two rows of men holding lighted wax candles. The king was seated on a chair covered with velvet, under a canopy of white satin bordered with a deep gold fringe. His dress was of cloth of gold, over which he wore a long mantle of velvet. On his head was a fine white cap. On his right hand stood an officer, who gently fanned the air with a handkerchief ; on his left stood another, holding a bow and sceptre — alas ! of tin ! Before him, on the carpet, knelt his interpreter.

There are six provinces in the kingdom of Congo ; Somo, Sundi, Pango, Bamba, Batta, and Pemba. In the year 1666 two Capuchin friars set out from Danté, a place on the frontiers of Angola, where the Portuguese had a fort, for Bamba, the capital of one of these provinces. Bamba was

in the way to St. Salvador. The roads were only paths, along which the travellers proceeded in file. First marched negroes, carrying burdens; then a missionary borne in a hammock of net, and followed by other negroes. "Then," says the father who relates the story, "came I, carried in my net, which seemed to me an easy sort of carriage." Negroes, who were to relieve the porters, closed the procession.

At every libatte, or village, fresh negroes were provided, and at every libatte the good fathers performed the offices of their function, baptizing children and saying mass. The first of these villages, which is said to be a pretty large one, consisted of about a hundred huts, disposed without any regularity. These were rather the dormitories than the habitations of the people; the men being abroad all day, conversing, or pursuing different amusements, and the women tilling the ground, frequently with a child at their back, and one or two others under their care. Each village was surrounded by a thorny hedge as high as a pike.

On the journey the missionaries saw a boa constrictor, 25 feet in length, advancing towards them on the path. They turned aside to a rising ground, from whence they saw it pass, and observed that its motion shook the herbage as much as the passing of twenty men.

One evening, instead of a village, there were only two huts at the station of the travellers. These had no fence; but there were four trees, with small huts on the tops of them, in which the negroes kept watch during the night, while the missionaries slept on straw in one of the habitations below. In the night a lion and a leopard

advanced so near the hut, that they plainly distinguished them through the crevices, by the light of the moon. The negroes kindled a fire, and the unwelcome visitors retreated.

At another time, the inhabitants of the country before them having set fire to the grass, the flames drove all the animals towards the travellers. The negroes, aware of the danger, told the missionaries that they must all climb the trees. This was no part of their mission ; but happily they were provided with a ladder of ropes which assisted them. From the tree they saw a troop of animals pass by, among which were lions, leopards, wolves, and rhinoceroses, in such numbers that the whole party would scarcely have afforded them one good meal.

After this, the travellers met a wounded lion, which left a track of blood behind him. He advanced towards them with great fury ; the bearers set down the first missionary, who had some difficulty to get out of his net ; the negroes took up their bows, and shouted ; one of them, at the same time, set fire to the grass, which was very tall and dry, it being in the month of March, and the lion turned aside.

An hour before night they arrived at a village which was not, like the others, surrounded by thorns. When they entered the market-place, they found a great number of people assembled, and were told that their chief had been fighting a lion. The crowd made way for the father, who, having saluted the chief, reproved him for having no fence round his village. " Father," said the chief, " while I live there will be no need of a fence ; when I am dead, they may do as they please." On

enquiry being made respecting the particulars of the combat, the chief gave the following account: "I was standing here, talking with my people, when a hungry lion came upon us so unexpectedly, not roaring, as is usual, that they, who were unarmed, ran away. I, who am not used to run away, put one knee and one hand upon the ground, and holding my knife with the other hand, I struck him, with all my force, in the belly. Finding himself wounded, he rushed upon me so furiously, that he wounded himself again in the throat; at the same time tearing with his claw, a piece of skin off my side. My people then returning with their weapons, and the lion being wounded in two places, he ran away, losing much blood."

Besides the inhabitants of the villages, there were many who lived under trees in the open country; though not without great danger from wild beasts. After travelling through a country in which these were so numerous that they were frequently obliged to burn the grass before they dared to pass through it, they arrived at Bamba, where the Capuchins had a convent of mud thatched with straw.

Bamba is said to be seventy leagues from the sea, and in the road from Loanda to St. Salvador, which was only fifty. This is a difficulty I cannot overcome. Bamba was a great town, the capital of a province; and its sovereign, though subject to, and appointed by, the king of Congo, appeared in great state. He wore a coat down to his knees of cloth of palm leaves, dyed black, a cloak of blue cloth, and a red cap trimmed with gold. When he went abroad, the son of one great man carried his hat, the son of another his sword, and another his arrows. Fifty men went before him



playing on different instruments ; and twenty-five officers and a hundred men followed him.

When a young man intended to marry, he made a suitable present to the father of a young woman, and took her home to live with him. If he continued to like her person ; if he found her obedient, and diligent in her daily labour ; he retained her as his wife. If she proved disagreeable, refractory or lazy, he returned her to her parents ; but his rejection was no obstacle to her entering upon a state of probation with another man. The woman was also at liberty to quit the man, if, on acquaintance, she disapproved of him ; and it frequently happened that the man was desirous to retain the woman, when she would not consent to stay with him. The Capuchins combated this state of trial with all their might, and obliged their converts to marry according to the rules of the church. Such as did so, the father observes, lived so Christian-like and lovingly together, that the wife would sooner suffer herself to be cut to pieces, than prove unfaithful to her husband.

When harvest, which came twice in the year, was over, the kidney-beans were placed in one heap, the Indian corn in another, and the same with regard to such other plants as the people cultivated. A portion of each was then set apart for the chief, and a sufficient quantity for sowing ; the remainder was divided among the inhabitants, according to the number of persons in each hut ; and the women assembled to till the ground for a new harvest ; the earth being fruitful and black like the people.

In the evening, when the women returned from the fields, a fire was lighted in the centre of the hut, and the family sat around it and made

their repast : after which they talked, till sleep laid them prostrate on the ground.

At Bamba the good missionary was attacked by a fever, and, hopeless of recovery there, he was carried to Loanda, a journey which occupied twenty-five days. His support by the way was St. Antony of Padua, whom, at times, he verily believed he saw walking before him. It was the opinion at that time in Africa, that in order to fit a European constitution for the climate, all the European blood should be taken away, and the veins filled with African. In consequence of this method of practice, the father was bled ninety-seven times. Nature kindly assisted art ; for the blood ran out of the father's nose, mouth, and ears, sometimes at the rate of three or four pounds in a day ; so that he concludes, and well he might conclude, it was *prodigious*.

Another missionary, twenty years after, says, that the man is obliged to procure the habitation, to clothe his wife, to prune the trees, to clear the field, and to bring home the palm wine ; the woman is to provide food for her husband and children. At noon she returns from her labour in the field, prepares the dinner, and places it before her husband ; and when he has done eating, she and her children share what is left.

On St. James's day every chief brings his contribution towards the maintenance of the governor and his family, for the ensuing year. If he be to pay in fish, he carries two fishes at the end of his spear ; if in oil, he shews the nut that produces it ; if in meat, he carries the horn of the animal. Officers who have ill executed their employments are now removed, and their posts given to others. On

this occasion the prince or governor is seated under the great tree in the market-place.

The ordinary habit of the prince was a vest of straw cloth, of peculiar workmanship, worn only by himself and by persons to whom he granted the privilege of wearing it. This was girded round the waist, and reached to the ground; over it was worn a long cloak of black baize, and on his head a little cap of stitched silk. His house was built of boards, and the front painted. When he went to church, a velvet chair with a cushion, was carried before him, and he was preceded by a musician carrying small bells hung on a rod, and chanting to their music the glory and grandeur of his lord. The prince was carried in a hammock of net, by two men, one of whom bore a staff of silver, the other of ebony tipped with silver. There were generally two umbrellas of peacock's feathers, and two of straw carried before him on long poles, and two horses' tails to drive away the flies. The persons employed in these offices were his favourites or relations. When the prince left the church, he knelt, and all the people gave themselves what the missionary terms, "several good cuffs on the ear," in token of their attachment to their sovereign.

About the year 1686 this missionary visited the King of Congo at Lemba, which was now his residence, St. Salvador having, by frequent wars, been deserted, and become a den of thieves. What these wars were the monk does not say; but I violently suspect that the Portuguese had a hand in them; because the crown was in their possession at Loanda, and the king was very desirous to have it restored, and to make St. Salvador again the royal residence.

When the Capuchin arrived within half a mile of the city of Lemba, he received orders to proceed no farther, till he had permission from the king, and he was left with only his interpreter. At length several persons came with an order to conduct him to court. When he approached the city, he was again stopped, to wait the arrival of the secretary. This officer conducted him into the market-place, where he found an innumerable multitude of people, who were arranged on each side, singing the rosary in the Conghese language. At the upper end sat the king, who received the missionary with great devotion.

The king was very desirous to retain the holy man at Lemba ; but his mission was at Sonio, and after a stay of twenty days, he returned. During his stay at Lemba he visited the queen-mother. It was evening, and on his entrance he was met by two servants with torches. In the second room were two other servants with, and four without, torches ; and in the third were two more with torches, and a greater number of attendants. These introduced him into the presence of the queen, who was sitting on a carpet with her daughter, wrapped in a long cloak, which was brought under her arm. This lady, rising, and placing her hands on her sides, declared, that, now they had the father, she should not suffer him to leave the court. She was afterwards convinced by his reasons, and permitted him to depart.

The people of Congo owe at least one improvement of their condition to the zeal and activity of the catholic missionaries. On the death of the monarch, young ladies were accustomed to fight

and kill each other, for the honour of being buried alive with the dead body; and the victors leaped into the grave in their best apparel, to be ready to wait upon the king in the world to come. The Conghese are now content to honour their deceased sovereign by eating and drinking immoderately during eight days.

The missionaries say, that the flesh of captives taken in war was publicly sold in the market of St. Salvador. Now it is certain that the Portuguese chose rather to buy and sell captives than to eat them; and this might be considered an amelioration of their condition; but this I am inclined to doubt. If no more captives were sold than were formerly devoured, and if years of suffering were preferable to instant death, then would this be an improvement. But where are now the countless multitudes that flocked to gaze at the ambassador on his way to St. Salvador, and the monks on their way to Bamba? I am afraid this is a question to be answered in the West Indies. And if Great Britain, and every other state in Europe, were to make laws against the slave trade, still would the Portuguese, these long-practised traders in human beings, deal in their fellow-creatures.

The domestic slaves in Congo are never sold, except on account of misbehaviour, when a palaver is held to decide on their conduct. They are sometimes pawned for debt; but they are redeemed as soon as possible. The marketable slaves are those purchased of the itinerant black traders, and are such as have been taken in war, condemned for crime, or, as the negroes who speak English express it, *caught in the bush*. The danger

of being caught, and sold for a slave, represses every desire of the people of one town to go farther than the next. Every man I conversed with acknowledged that the practice of catching would no longer exist, if white men did not come for slaves; and that nine or ten of their wars were the result of this abominable traffic. The great men, who derive a large portion of their revenue from the presents it produces, alone desire its continuance.

On the 10th of September I set out from Soondy N'Sanga on my return to the mouth of the river of Congo. On the 12th I crossed the creek of Condo Yonga, in a canoe; other creeks, which were dry in our way upwards, were now filled with water, and we were obliged to go high up, and pass them on fallen trees. On the 13th I reached Inga, so weak and ill, that I was unable to secure my effects; and my silver spoons, great coat, and a number of other articles were stolen. On the 14th I arrived at Cooloo, and procured from the che-noo a goat, some fowls, and some eggs. The people received us with great hospitality; all ran cheerfully to assist us; brought us water, wood for our fire, and grass for our beds.

On the 15th we reached the river, and I hired a canoe; and on the 18th I arrived at the vessel, and found it crowded with goats, fowls, pigeons, pumpkins, plantains, and flaskets of palm wine. Here I soon recovered my health.

At Tall-trees, the beginning of the mangroves, the river had risen seven feet; but its velocity was not increased.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## CACONGO. LOANGO.

**AFTER** quitting the river of Congo, we anchored off Malemba Point, and were surprised by a visit from the mafook of Malemba, the port of the kingdom of Cacongo. This great man arrived in a European four-oared boat, with a number of attendants in two canoes. One of these addressed me in English, telling me that he was a gentleman, and his name was Tom Liverpool. The mafook asked me if I wanted slaves, and was much disappointed on my answering in the negative; saying, he was overloaded with them, and would sell them at half their value. His conversation was partly in broken English, and partly in somewhat better French.

The dress of these gentry was European above the waist; below, it was the garment of the country, a piece of checked, or other cotton cloth, and over this an apron made of the skin of some animal; the apron is only worn by gentlemen. The caps of office were neatly embroidered, and of curious workmanship; the others were of red or striped worsted, and not the manufacture of the country. The gentlemen wore rings of iron and copper on the ankles and wrists, welded so as not to be taken off; many of the copper had raised figures. Beads, and hairs of the elephant's tail, twisted into cords, were worn round the neck. These seemed to be multiplied in proportion to

the puppyism of the wearer ; the graver and older men having only one or two, while some of the younger had so many that they could not move the head without difficulty. All were loaded with fetishes of the most heterogeneous kinds ; horns, stones, rags, wood, and bits of shells, but the most esteemed seemed to be a monkey's bone. The principal fetish of the mafook was a piece of sculpture representing two men with high foreheads and aquiline noses, surrounded with various kinds of rubbish, and slung over the shoulder by a belt made of the skin of a snake.

My Malemba guests were cheerful, clean, dressed even to foppery, and had the manners of the French, the people with whom they have the greatest intercourse. Tammee Gomma, the mafook, was a man of middle age, tall, and well made, with a noble and interesting countenance, which resembled more that of an Arab than a negro. At dinner he carved the meat, and he and his officers drank my health ; but I must confess that they paid their devotions to my brandy bottle till I thought it right to dismiss them.

I did not go on shore at Cacongo ; but an extract from the relation of some French missionaries who arrived at Malemba in the year 1768, will give the reader of these travels an idea of the country and its inhabitants.

From Malemba one of the fathers repaired to Kingnelé, the capital, and the usual residence of the king. This city was an assemblage of thousands of houses, made of rushes and palm leaves. It was situated in a pleasant open plain ; the air was pure ; and the inhabitants were not incommoded by flies, which are generally so trouble-



some in hot countries. The environs were planted with palm and other trees.

The missionary met with a favourable reception from the king of Cacongo : and the Mangova, his first minister, gave orders that a house should be erected for him ; but the poor missionary was seized with the fever. In the midst of his sufferings he dreaded nothing so much as going into the next world attended by the superstitions of the negroes ; and he intreated the mangova, who came to visit him, that, in case of his death, he might be buried without any ceremony, in the cassock he then wore. The minister assured him that the king had too great an affection for him to suffer it. " No," continued he, " I hope the king's ganga will restore you to health ; but if you die, your funeral will be celebrated like those of the great men of the kingdom. Your body will be wrapped in a great number of stuffs ; exposed in a house during nine or ten months, and the servants of the king will go every night to dance and sing round it." The discussion of the funeral of the missionary was rendered useless by the recovery of his health.

The missionary was joined by his fellow labourer. The king of Cacongo gave them all, and more than all they asked ; made them travel in his own hammock, and offered to put to death any one who should molest them. This *bon roi*, as he is called, is said to have been 126 years of age : how his age could be ascertained among a people who keep no account of time, belonged to the missionaries to explain.

The minister appeared to be less disinterested than his master ; and the holy men observed, that

he favoured their cause more or less, according to the presents they made him. By a present judiciously given, they accelerated the construction of a chapel, which they ornamented to the best of their power with gilt paper : and by the time they had been a year in the country, they were sufficiently acquainted with the language to begin their public instructions. The king made one of the congregation at their first service, sitting cross-legged on a carpet ; his officers and great men were seated round him at a distance ; the rest of the hearers placed themselves promiscuously, and the preacher was provided with a bench.

Having been thus successful in the capital, one of the missionaries endeavoured to spread the gospel in the country. His first essay was at the house of a great man, who had married one of the princesses, and who lived about eighteen miles from Kinguelé. Nothing could exceed the kindness of his reception, or the fervent desire of this gentleman to become a Christian ; but the missionary chose to continue his travels, and visited successively Malemba and Kaïa. He met with no opposition from any of the great men, except a few of those who were in habits of intercourse with the Europeans on the coast.

The health of the missionaries again failed them ; and it is scarcely to be wondered at, for, added to the insalubrity of the climate to European constitutions, they lived chiefly upon salted meat and wine, brought from France. Having with difficulty obtained leave of the king, and his minister, the mangova, they quitted the promised harvest of souls, and, in 1770, returned to their own country.

In the year 1773 other French missionaries arrived at Cacongo, and had lands, assigned them by the king, on an eminence, in a beautiful plain, not far from Malemba. But before they could till the ground he had given them they wanted food; and when salted provisions had been given them by their countrymen on the coast, they wanted health.

These missionaries met with no traces of Christianity left by their predecessors; but they were informed that a colony of Christians of Sonio had crossed the river of Congo some time before, and, with permission of the king of Cacongo, had founded a small, distinct province in his kingdom. One of these Christians had come from Manguenza, the capital, to sell the flour of Turkey wheat at Kilonga, a village bordering on the Missionary settlement, and was overjoyed to discover that priests had arrived in the country. On his return he was dispatched to the missionaries by Don Juan, the governor of the colony, to conduct them to Manguenza.

Two of the missionaries set out, and, as Kinguelé lay in their way, they presented themselves at the audience of the king, and acquainted him with the motive of their journey. The king approved of the undertaking; but the missionaries soon found they had committed an error in not addressing themselves to the mangova, through whom the application should have been made; for the monarch revoked his permission, and the missionaries were told that they must proceed no farther. All remonstrances to the mangova were vain, and they returned to Kilonga.

Pedro, the meal-merchant, proceeded to Man-

guenza with the unwelcome tidings ; and Don Juan, who was a relation of the minister, sent him back to Kinguelé to solicit his consent for the missionaries to pass. The request was accompanied by a present which added to its weight ; the minister told the envoy that he could refuse nothing to his relation ; and the missionaries set out for Manguenza a second time.

They passed the first night in the open air, and the next day they arrived at Kinguelé, and waited upon the mangova. He said it would be proper for them to see the king, and he sent an officer to conduct them to him, and to request his permission for them to proceed to Manguenza. It was now his majesty's turn to refuse, and he declared that he never would consent to the journey. Poor Pedro was in despair at this second disappointment ; but the missionaries sagaciously concluded, that if the minister had power to detain them when they had the king's leave to depart, he might be able to expedite their journey when the king forbade it. And so it proved ; for when they reported the affair to the mangova, he took upon himself the office of speaking to the sovereign, and ordered them to continue their journey the next morning.

From Kinguelé the missionaries travelled eastward ; and having passed a Christian village called Guenga, belonging to the colony, they arrived in the evening at Manguenza. This town was about thirty-six miles distant from Kinguelé, and nearly the same from the river of Congo. The missionaries were received with transport by the black Don Juan, and his sable Portuguese Christians. They were conducted in procession

to the church, an edifice not differing from the private habitations ; but it contained a kind of altar, covered with a mat, and a crucifix was placed upon it. Canticles were chanted on one side, and baptisms provided for on the other, before the groveling necessities of eating and drinking were thought of by either.

In the course of eight days that the missionaries remained at Manguenza, they baptized 345 children, besides performing the other offices of their function. It does not appear that marriage was of the number ; and the French missionaries, perhaps more conciliating than the Portuguese, are silent on the subject of polygamy.

They estimate the inhabitants of the Christian colony at four thousand.

Don Juan having vainly endeavoured to retain the priests in his little territory, gave them two goats as a parting present, a rich present, they observe, for so poor a country. He advised them, however, to give one of them to the king of Cacongo, as a means to preserve his favour. At Kinguelé they went to return thanks to the mangova, and intended afterwards to present themselves before the king, and offer him the goat ; but the minister thought it sufficient to send it by Pedro, as coming from Don Juan, and did not choose that the journey of the missionaries should be mentioned ; doubtless because he had not mentioned it himself. From Kinguelé the missionaries returned to their brethren on the plain of Kilonga.

Though the Christian teachers were in general received with rapture, and their doctrines with little less, it does not appear that they made any

progress in their pious work. They seemed to be in want of patronage; almost in want of food, and incapable of providing it for themselves; and they called the climate "murderous for Frenchmen." In their last accounts they were on the point of believing, that they were not the chosen instruments for the conversion of the people of Cacong.

From the missionaries we learn the following particulars respecting the inhabitants of Cacong.

By a custom of which the people know neither the origin nor the intention, but which they regard as essential to the existence of their monarchy, the kings of Cacong may not possess, or even touch, any European articles of food or clothing. Neither white men, nor black, are admitted into their palace, clad in European stuffs. The king eats in one room, and drinks in another. He eats in private, and drinks in public. The apartment in which he drinks is closed on three sides, and open on the fourth, and the drinking of the king is the time that his officers assemble to pay their court: not, however, to witness his drinking; for, when the cup is presented to the monarch, a *ganga*, who is at once his physician, conjurer, and butler, rings a bell, and cries with all his might, "prostrate yourselves, or hasten away!" The assembly then prostrate themselves with their faces to the ground; and it is believed that the king would die, if any one of his subjects were to see him drink. When the sovereign has drank, the cry and the bell cease, and the people are allowed to look him in the face.

By a custom equally singular, the king of Cacong is obliged to drink a cup of palm wine for

every cause that he judges, and he sometimes decides fifty at a sitting. If he did not drink, his sentence would be illegal. The same ceremony is observed upon these occasions as when he drinks after eating. He holds his audience every day from sun-rise, till he have decided all the causes brought before him ; and it is seldom that he has finished before eleven or twelve o'clock in the day.

When the king falls sick, it is proclaimed throughout the kingdom, and every one is obliged to kill a cock, though none know why. The most sensible among them told the missionaries that the cock did them more good than the king, because they ate it. On the death of the king, no person may cultivate the land during several months ; and a missionary heard one man say to another, " Because the king has died with sickness, must we expose ourselves to perish with hunger ? "

Markets are held in the public square of the towns, and the large villages, under the shade of trees. Here are sold smoked fish, manioca, and other roots, salt, palm-nuts, sugar-canes, bananas, and various kinds of fruit. A mother may send a child of six years old to one of these markets, assured that it will not be deceived. Every sort of merchandize is divided into small portions, and each portion is worth a money-mat.

The king of Congo claims Cacongo as one of his provinces ; and, in return the king of Cacongo styles himself Macongo, that is, King, or Lord, of Congo, instead of Macocongo, which is his proper title. When he goes to war, the makaka, who is the war-minister and the general, sends orders

to all the princes and governors to levy troops. These all appear on a certain day, when, if the makaka think they do not cover a sufficient space of ground, he has only to speak the word in the name of the king, and, in a few days, the army is as strong as he wishes it. Before they set out on an expedition, they paint the whole of their body red, in the confidence that this colour will render them invulnerable to fire arms; and they wear large plumes, of rich colours, to strike terror into the enemy. Each man takes with him victuals for some days, and such arms as he can procure, for none are provided; some have muskets, others sabres, and some have only knives. They march without order or discipline, and the chiefs who command them seem rather like the drivers of a flock of sheep than the conductors of an army. When they encounter the enemy, each man rushes upon the man before him; the battle begins in confusion, and soon ends in flight. If a few soldiers fall at the feet of their comrades, the army is disbanded, and the victors have only to follow, and take prisoners, whom they sell to the Europeans. But it is very seldom that two armies come to an engagement. The general mode of warfare is to fall upon the enemy's towns and villages, plunder and burn them, and carry off the inhabitants.

A war is frequently terminated in a week. When the soldiers have eaten the provisions they carried with them, and find none in the enemy's country, or when they want powder and lead, nothing is capable of retaining them. They take the path that leads to their country; and if their



king be not satisfied with the expedition, it rests with him to order another.

Though the natives of Cacong display no valour in the field, they are extremely desirous to be thought courageous. The greatest affront that can be offered a man is to call him a coward, and he cannot be flattered more than by telling him he looks like a brave man. A handsome face is considered as a defect, and he who is much marked with the small-pox is envied. To shew their resolution, they make incisions on their faces, shoulders, and legs. A missionary asked a man who was bleeding profusely under this operation, why he gave himself so much pain, he answered, "For honour, that people may say I am a man of courage."

The inhabitants of Cacong believe in a Supreme Being, the Creator of all that is good and beautiful, just, and a lover of justice, and severely punishing fraud and perjury. They call him Zambi. They also believe in another being, whom they call Zambi-a-n'bi, the god of wickedness, the author of crimes and misfortunes, and the destroyer of the good things created by the other. They think the good being requires no propitiation, and they endeavour to appease the wrath of the evil by offering him some banana trees, which they leave to perish, with the fruit untouched.

Their secondary divinities are imitations of the human figure, rudely carved in wood, and placed in houses like their own, or in woods or unfrequented places. If any thing considerable be stolen, one of these is brought into the market-place, with much ceremony, to discover the thief;

and so much are thieves afraid of the penetration of these wooden deities, that they frequently restore in private the thing taken, rather than expose themselves to the risk of being detected in public.

The third rank of divinities are bones of monkeys, teeth of fishes, and feathers of birds, which are worn to preserve their owners from particular accidents and misfortunes. To keep sterility from their fields, they stick into the ground broken pots, and the branches of certain trees. If they are to be long absent from home, they place the same centinels before the door of their house, and the most determined thief would not dare to pass the threshold, if it were guarded by these mysterious agents.

The gangas are as ignorant as the rest of the people, but greater knaves. No one doubts their commerce with the god of evil, or their knowledge of the means to avert his vengeance. They are supposed to be capable of obtaining rain or fair weather, of rendering themselves invisible, and gliding through the thickest doors. At the birth of an infant, it is forbidden by the ganga to eat certain kinds of meat, such as the ganga may fix upon at the moment, during its life, and the prohibition is religiously observed. Partridge is forbidden to all; and if they are asked why they do not eat a bird so good, they reply, that, perhaps what is good for one country may not be so for another; and they know that if they were to eat of partridge, their fingers would drop from their hands.

When a sick man has drawn his last breath, the gangas and musicians, by whom he was attended, retire, and the nearest relations place the body on a scaffold, under which they make a fire emitting

a thick smoke. When the corpse is sufficiently smoked, it is exposed to the air for some days, with a person by its side to keep off the flies. It is then wrapped in a prodigious quantity of stuffs ; the riches of the heirs being estimated by the quality of the envelope, and their regard for the deceased by its size. It is then exposed in public, at least several months, and often a year, according to the rank of the deceased. During this time the friends, the relations, and above all, the wives of the dead, who erect their houses near that in which the corpse is placed, assemble every evening to weep, sing, and dance around it.

On the eve of the day appointed for the funeral the corpse is shut up in a coffin in the form of a cask, and the next day it is put on a sort of car, and drawn by men to the place of interment. The roads are levelled for the occasion ; or, if the deceased were a prince, new ones are made, thirty or forty feet wide. The attendants make the greatest noise possible, dancing, singing, and playing on instruments ; and it is not unusual for the same person to dance, sing, and weep, at the same time. When they reach the place of interment, which is often at a great distance from the town or village, the coffin is deposited in a hole, resembling a well, about fifteen feet in depth, and with it are interred the most valued effects of the deceased.

It cannot be doubted that the multitude of garments are intended for the wardrobe of the departed friend in the other world, his effects either for his use or ornament, and the provisions, which are frequently added, for his refreshment by the way. The missionaries deny human sacrifices in Caongo ; but it must be remembered, first, that

they did not witness the funeral of a king ; and, second, that wherever Europeans are established, the negroes are very desirous to conceal such sacrifices from them.

After sailing to the northward from Malemba, I anchored in the road of Loanga, and going on shore, I reached the capital of the kingdom, called by the natives Booali, the same evening. The roads are narrow paths. At a distance the city resembles a forest, as it has within it and around it a number of plantations of palm trees and bananas. I walked through the town, from one end to the other. It is of vast extent, and divided into as many inclosures as there are families, each family having a portion of ground for cultivation annexed to the inclosure. The streets, or rather paths, are multiplied to infinity ; but they are so narrow that two persons cannot walk abreast, and the grass upon them grew so high that in some places I could not see the houses. Booali is situated in latitude  $4^{\circ} 45'$  north.

As I made no stay in Loanga, it may not be amiss to say what this country and its inhabitants were at the end of the seventeenth century, and what in the year 1766, when they were visited by the French missionaries.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the metropolis of Loanga was said to occupy as much ground as the city of York, but to be far less closely built. The streets were wide, straight, and neatly kept, and trees were interspersed among the houses. In the centre of the city was a large market-place, on one side of which was the residence of the king, containing a vast number of distinct buildings. The houses were constructed

with two gable ends, and a sloping roof, which rested on thick posts four or five yards in height, and was covered with matomba leaves. A house generally contained two or three separate apartments. Besides the capital, there were said to be ten large towns, and many smaller ones in Loango.

The men wore long garments that reached to the feet, but left the upper part of the body uncovered. The cloths were of different qualities. The first were very fine, of curious patterns and various colours, and were worn only by the king, and those on whom he bestowed them as a mark of distinction. The second were of the same kind, but inferior both in size and workmanship. The third were plain, and were worn by the common people. The cloths of the women were of the same sorts, but they reached only a little below the knee. Copper and iron rings were worn on the legs and arms of both sexes.

Of the bitter and astringent root of a certain tree, the gangas, or priests, made an infusion called bondé drink, which was used as a test to discover the author of any mischief. If a man were killed by a beast of prey, the destroyer was accounted a sorcerer, who by his *mokisies*, or charms, had assumed that form. If a house were burnt, or drought prevailed when rain was expected, bondé drink was used to discover the author of the misfortune. If murder or theft were committed, bondé water was administered to the person suspected. In all these trials sickness was the proof of guilt; and if the party remained in health, he was considered as innocent.

While the husband was eating, the wife sat at a distance; when he had done eating, she made

her meal on what he left. The wife never spoke to her husband but upon her knees, and never approached him without creeping upon her hands ; I am willing to give uncivilized man credit for exacting a slavish submission from the creature who in happier countries is called his helpmate, but I could scarcely have imagined he degraded her so low as this, except on particular occasions.

The king of Loango was never seen to eat or drink, his servants retiring when they had brought in the dishes ; and his cup-bearer hiding his face in the sand, when he had presented the cup. Chance, however, had twice broken into this regulation. At one time, a favourite dog, that had not been properly watched, opened the door of the apartment with his nose ; and, at another, the child of a nobleman had fallen sleep, and had inadvertently been left by his father. Both saw the king eat, and each was instantly put to death. The food of which the king had tasted was buried in the earth.

The throne of the king of Loango was about six feet in length, two feet in breadth, and eighteen inches in height, with small pillars of white and black palmetto branches interwoven in wicker work. The only times at which this sovereign was seen in public were, when he received a foreign ambassador, when a leopard was taken, when his chiefs paid their tribute, and when his wives tilled the land. On these occasions he appeared on a large plain which was before his palace, and in the midst of the city, seated on an elevated stool formed of black and white basket-work. Behind him was a shield suspended from a pole, co-

vered with European stuffs, and before his seat was spread a large carpet, made of leaves quilted together, on which no person was allowed to tread, but those of his own family. Beyond this carpet were seated a number of those monsters of the human species, dwarfs and white negroes.

In Loango the queen-dowager was chosen by the king, who adopted some matron as his mother, and respected her more than his real mother. The title of this lady was Makonda, and she had great prerogatives at court.

The people of Loango made cloths of the fibres of the matombé leaf, which were used instead of money at the Portuguese settlement of Loanda, and were the standard by which all commodities were valued; a pound of ivory was there worth five pieces of cloth. The Europeans exported from this country elephants' tails, the hairs of which were sold at Loanda at the rate of six shillings the hundred. These hairs the negroes braided very finely, and wore about the neck. Such as were sufficiently long to be woven into girdles were of double the value. For permission to trade in Loango, the Europeans gave presents to the king, to the queen-mother, and to two officers called manikes and manikinga, who superintended the factory.

Theft was punished by public exposure in the market-place, after restitution had been made either by the culprit or his friends.

The fetish derived from the Portuguese here retained its native appellation of mokisie. Some of these were villainous representations of the human figure, ornamented with feathers and tassels; others were feathers and small horns placed on cords,

and worn round the arm, neck, or waist; others were round earthen pots, filled with red and white earth, kneaded into a paste with water. All these mokisies were supposed to possess the power of securing the people from evil, or subjecting them to it. A man was also restricted by the ganga from eating particular sorts of food, and made to believe that disobedience would draw upon him the vengeance of his mokisie.

According to the custom of these people, the son of the king's sister was his successor. In his infancy he resided at Kina, and was forbidden to eat hog's flesh; when past his infancy, he resided at Moanza, and was not to eat of the fruit called kola; when he was near man's estate, he was to eat no fowls, except such as he killed and dressed himself; as he advanced towards the regal dignity he submitted to other privations; till, being arrived at it, he became, himself, the grand mokisie of Loango.

When the French missionaries arrived at Loango in 1766, a great man offered them a residence at his village. They passed through Booali the capital, in their way, and then crossed a desert plain, ten or twelve miles in breadth, bounded by a hill, on the side of which were several villages. Having passed one of these, they were stopped by a marsh covered with water, and so large as to resemble a sea. While they were looking on all sides, to discover their road, their conductors took off their garments, plunged in, and made signs for them to follow. The missionaries, who saw their guides up to the breast in water, thought the affair wore a serious aspect; and remained motionless and irre-



solute; but the guides laughed at their timidity, and they ventured to follow them. They were nearly an hour in crossing the marsh; and in several places the water reached up to the chin. After this, they had several rivers and rivulets to pass, in the same manner; and at night, exhausted with fatigue, they arrived at the village in which they were to establish themselves.

While the good priests were here, endeavouring to make Christians of Pagans, one of them died, and another became so ill that he was removed to one of the French factories on the coast. The remaining one had the satisfaction of interring his brother according to the rites of the church, and of preventing the negroes from singing and dancing round his body; but this did not secure himself from the malady, and both the survivors returned to France. They did not, however, quit the country without acquiring a knowledge of the language, and collecting some valuable information respecting the inhabitants, of which the following is the substance.

The respect of the people for the king approaches to adoration. They say that their lives and all they possess belong to him, and it is his to take them when he pleases. But they do not limit his power to their lives and fortunes; they imagine it extends to the seasons, and, when the rains fail, they implore him to send them upon his kingdom. This office he delegates to one of his ministers, who watches when a cloud rises, and then promises the wished-for rain.

The principal officers of state are the *mani govo*, or prime minister; the *manipootoo*, the *makaka*, or war minister, who commands the army; the *mafooka*,

who has the care of commerce ; and the makinba, who is the inspector of hunting and fishing, and through whose hands game and fish are paid to the king. The chief of every village is the receiver for his sovereign, and is not unmindful of himself. If a man have four goats, that he may not be obliged to give three, or even all, to the king, he gives the best to the governor, who is then content with the second for his master. These governments are often sold to the highest bidder ; and the infatuated people go singing and dancing to meet a man who has just purchased the right to pillage them by the king's authority.

There are no nobles in Loango but the princes ; and this nobility is communicated by the women. The children of a princess are princes and princesses, though their father be a plebeian : the children of a prince, and even of the king, descend to the common rank.

The king of Loango dispenses justice, seated on a carpet laid on the ground, in what may be termed the hall of audience, which is, in general, crowded. When a crime cannot be proved, the accused is made to drink water in which the wood called cassa has been infused. This is real poison, if the stomach have not sufficient force to reject it immediately. If the innocence of the accused be not established by this proof, a different potion is given him, which excites vomiting, and saves his life ; but he is then considered guilty, and is subject to the penalty of the law. If his stomach, unaided, do reject the cassa water, his accuser is sentenced as a calumniator.

A king of Loango is not interred for some years after his death ; and during this interval the

kingdom is governed by a regent named by himself, while living. The electors of the new king are the princes, the ministers, and the regent, and the death of the sovereign is generally the signal for a civil war.

Grass grows in the streets of the towns of Loango, which are only narrow paths. A great city is a labyrinth from which a stranger could not extricate himself without a guide. The houses are formed of rushes, or branches of trees, interwoven; and the covering is worthy of the edifice, for it is only leaves, generally palm leaves, which will last several years. The man who wants a house, goes to market, with his wife and children, buys the one that suits him, each takes a piece according to his strength, and they set it up, fastening it to strong pegs, stuck in the ground. When finished, it has the appearance of a huge basket, turned upside down. The houses of the great are, however, woven with much art, and lined with mats of different colours, the tapestry of the country.

The people of Loango wear but one garment, which reaches from the waist to the middle of the leg, and is fastened with a broad girdle. This is worn night and day, and never washed. Men shave the head, and wear caps; women have the head uncovered, and women of rank cut the hair into intricate alleys and patterns, like the walks and parterres of an old-fashioned garden.

The men are mostly unemployed, but not incapable of employment. In knowledge, as in the wants of life, they confine themselves to what is necessary. Ask them respecting the history of their country, and they reply, "Why should we wish to know what was done by the dead? It is

enough that the living do well." Ask them their age, they answer, "To know how long we have lived would be useless, since it would neither prevent us from dying, nor tell us when we should die."

Both men and women are fond of talking and singing. While the women cultivate the earth, the plain resounds with their songs; and the men, sitting cross-legged in a circle, under the thick shade of a tree, with a pipe in their mouths, and palm wine, if they have it, by their side, pass the day in telling news, or in frivolous conversation. He who begins the discourse sometimes speaks for a quarter of an hour, every one listens in silence. Another begins, and receives the same attention. No one is interrupted, and each speaks in his turn. From the warmth of their declamation, a stranger would imagine that the subject was of great importance, when, perhaps, it is a feather, or an earthen pot. They indicate numbers by gestures; and all the hearers, on seeing the gesture, repeat the number aloud.

Whoever is successful in hunting or fishing, shares his prize with his friends and neighbours. They are flattered by being thought generous, and they call the Europeans "close-handed," because they give nothing for nothing. A traveller who arrives at a village at the time of their repast, enters the first house, and is welcomed by its master. If the stranger does not eat with a good appetite, his host singles out the best morsel in the dish, bites a piece of it, and presents him with the remainder, saying, "Eat this upon my word." If it be only maniocá, they make no apology, for the

stranger knows that if they had possessed better food, it would have been set before him.

Manioca is the bread of the poor ; banana that of the rich. The banana is the produce of a plant rather than a tree ; though it grows to the height of twelve or fifteen feet, and its trunk is eight or ten inches in diameter. The fruit grows in a cluster from the top of the trunk, each cluster containing from one to a hundred bananas, and each banana being eight or ten inches in length, and about an inch in diameter ; so that a good bunch is a load for a man. The tree bears only one, and dies when it is taken away ; it is, therefore, usually pulled down to gather the fruit ; but from every piece of it, a foot in length, several other trees spring up, so that the banana requires no cultivation after the first year. The bark is made into cords, and the leaves, which are seven or eight feet long, and eighteen or twenty inches broad, and almost of the consistence of parchment, serve as covers for pots. The fruit is hard and farinaceous.

If a wife be unfaithful to her husband, she acknowledges her fault to him, under the impression that the greatest misfortunes will befall her if she conceal it ; and there are some other transgressions which she believes herself equally bound to confess. The husband is kind enough to pardon his wife these acknowledged errors ; but in the first case her accomplice becomes his slave, unless he be rich enough to redeem himself.

A princess chooses her husband, and he must have no other wife ; if he already have one, he must put her away. A man may not refuse this

honour ; though he is seldom ambitious to obtain it, for the first day of his marriage is the last of his liberty. He is not allowed to look at any other woman. He never goes out without numerous attendants, whose business it is to clear the way of all females ; and if one should chance to remain, notwithstanding their precautions, and the unfortunate husband should cast his eyes upon her, there are, among them, spies, who report it to his princess, who can, and commonly does, order him to be beheaded. The husband of a princess has but one hope ; that his wife may grow weary of him, and exchange him for another.

What an object of compassion is such a husband ! But we derive some comfort from knowing, that all other husbands in Loango revenge his cause.

Women of all other ranks never speak to their husbands but upon their knees. If two wives quarrel, the affair is brought before the husband, who is the supreme judge. He sits, cross-legged, on a mat, while they kneel before him, and each pleads her cause. They receive his sentence in silence, and then retire to their separate houses. When a man has several wives, he distributes equally among them, in proportion to the number of their children, his game, or his fish. If he have sufficient for one only, it is given to her who is to dress his dinner.

Children inherit from their mothers, not their fathers. A man's property goes, after his death, to his eldest brother, by the same mother ; in default of a brother, to the son of his eldest sister by the same mother, and, in default of such nephew, to the eldest son of his nearest maternal relation.

The amusements of the people of Loango consist of a game resembling our game of draughts ; another game of striking each other's hands ; concerts of music ; and, above all, dancing. They dance for sorrow and for rejoicing, at a wedding and a funeral, and they accompany their movements with songs of mirth or sadness. The missionaries, one day, saw a woman dancing for the death of her husband, and lamenting her loss and that of her children. " Alas !" cried she, " the roof is fallen ; the building is exposed to the injuries of the weather, and its ruin is inevitable ! " Another time, as the missionaries were passing through a village, a woman was informed that her son was caught, and sold to the Europeans. The poor woman rushed out of her house, holding her daughter by the hand, and began to dance with her, chanting her misfortune in the most affecting manner. Sometimes she cursed the day that made her a mother ; then called her son, execrating the wretches who had stolen him, and the Europeans who had bought him. Her tears and exclamations, even the irregularity of her dance, and the disorder of her movements, expressed so forcibly the anguish of her soul, that the good missionaries retired weeping.

The women labour only three days together ; the fourth is the market, and a day of rest, and on this they meet for recreation and dancing. The men, generally unemployed, except during harvest, are, on this day, more so than on the others : they walk, play, and frequent the markets.

At night, the people light flambeaux made of an odoriferous gum, that emits an agreeable scent,

and they light fires to purify the air. In the dry season the fire is made in the middle of their court; but they retire to their huts to sleep.

The religion is the same as that of Cacongo, and the gangas, or priests, are also the physicians. Their remedies consist of outward applications, bandages, and breathing on the part affected; but if the patient can afford the expence, a number of auxiliaries are called in, who make the greatest noise possible, with stringed instruments, trumpets, drums, tambours, and the voice. This sometimes continues incessantly for several days and nights, and as the case becomes more desperate, the clamour becomes more deafening. When the sick man expires, the musicians quit the house, and the relations console themselves by reflecting that they have done all in their power to frighten away death.

The language of Loango is the same as that of Cacongo. It is a dialect of the Conghese; but it differs materially from that language. The people of these countries regard as a prodigy the power possessed by the Europeans of communicating their ideas by characters; and they cannot be persuaded that their own language is capable of being understood by this marvellous art.

The missionaries who went from France to Cacongo in the year 1773, were set on shore at a port in the kingdom of Jomba, a country adjoining that of Loango on the north. From hence they walked to the port of Loango, in their way to Malemba. They were ten days in performing the journey. On the second night they found no water; but the following morning they breakfasted by the side of a large, rapid, and beautiful



river. This river they could only pass at its mouth, where it was from three to four feet deep. The fourth night they passed at a village called Makanda, the first in the kingdom of Loango. At the approach of the fifth night, they found themselves at the mouth of a large river, which was not fordable, and no person appeared to render them assistance. They passed the night on its bank, and the next morning walked by its side, till nine o'clock, when they saw a man in a canoe, who, for a handkerchief, carried them over, but on condition of taking no more than two at a time.

The missionaries were now in want of provisions, and they removed farther from the coast to obtain a supply. Chance conducted them to a large town called Kilonga, where, for the only time in Africa, they were ill received; the inhabitants refusing either to give or sell them food. They offered to God, as they say, this little trial, and, shaking the dust from their feet, they trusted to him to provide their supper. They add, that their confidence was not vain; for afterwards, in a deserted cabin, they found palm-nuts, and manioca in abundance, old and new, dressed and undressed, with a fire ready lighted to their hands. It is possible that the family, who fled at the approach of the missionaries, thought they had provided this store for themselves; but the missionaries thought otherwise; for, after returning thanks to God for having spread their table in the wilderness, they not only satisfied their hunger and passed the night in the hut, but loaded themselves the next morning with what provisions they wanted, without leaving any recompence for their former owner.

On the seventh day the travellers were again ferried over a large river, and they passed the night under a shed erected for the purpose of boiling salt. On the eighth day they were entertained by a great man, who had married a sister of the King of Loango; and who, like all the other persons they met with, except the inhabitants of Kilonga, was very desirous to retain them, and listen to their instructions. On the ninth day they arrived at the bank of a large and deep river, where a multitude of persons were waiting to take their passage. As soon as the missionaries appeared, all drew back, saying that, as travellers and strangers, it belonged to them to go over first. The next day they arrived at the French factories at Loango.

The country they had passed consisted of vast forests, interspersed with fine plains, producing grass, the height of which announced the fertility of the soil.

Two of the missionaries died at the French settlement of Loango, and the others having recovered from the fatigue of the journey, repaired to Booali, the capital, where they had an audience of the King. In this, one of them explained to him the principal doctrines of the Christian religion. When he had ended, the king said "You tell us great things, and you must be convinced of their importance, or you would not have come so far to instruct us in them." One of the great men asked a question that would have been formidable to many Christian preachers; but the missionary answered boldly, and I hope truly, in the affirmative—"Do you practice what you teach?" The

king of Loango offered the missionaries a settlement in his country ; but they preferred that of Caçongo, and had lands given them by the king, near Malemba, as has been mentioned before.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

### RIVER GABON. BENIN.

**P**ASSING Cape Lopez de Gonsalvo, the southern extremity of the Gulph of Guinea, I crossed the equator, and entered the river Gabon, which is more than two miles wide at the mouth. Its latitude is 30' north, and longitude 8° 42' east. I sailed about forty-five miles up this river, and landed at the town of Naãngo, which is frequented by European shipping. Naãngo is situated about two miles up a romantic creek, and consisted of one street, wide, regular, and clean. The houses were neatly constructed with bamboo, and the rooms, which were all on the ground-floor, were lofty. The inhabitants were about 500 in number ; they sleep on bedsteads, surrounded with musquito curtains of bamboo cloth.

A man of consequence never drinks before his inferiors without hiding his face from them, believing that, at this moment only, his enemies have the power of laying a spell upon him, in spite of the guardianship of his fetish. The whiskers of the men, and the side-locks of both

men and women, hang down in narrow braids, sometimes below the shoulders, and have small beads at the ends; the front locks are braided to project like horns. The women wear a number of thick brass rings round their legs; those of a woman of fashion reach from the ankle to the knee, and jingle when she walks or dances. The female slaves carry heavy burdens on their backs, supported by a broad band across the forehead. When a man dies, the door of his hut is shut during seven days. These people manufacture nothing, but are supplied with the comforts and conveniences they possess, by their more ingenious inland neighbours, on one side, and the European shipping on the other.

This country is called Empoöngwa. The heat is intense, and the moist exhalations still more oppressive. The orang-outang is found here. I saw one, two feet and a half in height, which was said to be growing; it had the visage, action, and cry of a very old man, and was obedient to the voice of its master.

Among the productions of the country is the kola-nut, which is round, and the size of an Orleans plumb, having a very hard shell. The kernel forms a principal part of the food of the common people, and after it has been a few days exposed to the sun, it is sweeter than that of a filbert.

At Naängo I received from the inhabitants, and from slaves from different parts of the interior, the following intelligence:

A little above Naänga the river Gabon divides in two; the one branch coming from the north-east, the other, apparently from the south-south-

east. The eastern banks of the northern branch are inhabited by a people called Sheekans, who bury their dead in their houses, underneath their beds.

Two days farther, in a canoe, is the country of Kaylee, or Kalay. The houses are of bamboo, and cloth that has the appearance of coarse brown Holland, is manufactured from the same. Their mats are very fine, and much varied in colour and pattern; they also manufacture iron from the ore, which abounds in their country. These people not only eat their prisoners, but their dead, whose bodies are bid for as soon as the breath has ceased. A father has been frequently seen to eat his own child. Goats and fowls are plentiful, but are not eaten while human flesh can be had. The people of Gabon go to trade with the Kaylees, armed with muskets, and accompanied by a strong guard of Sseekans.

The idea of the existence of cannibals has prevailed in all ages, and in countries widely distant from each other, and has been too general to be wholly without foundation. But the imputation has commonly been fixed on people afar off and little known; here, however, it is brought near; one nation only, and that a small one, intervening between the cannibals and the inhabitants of Empoöngwa. It is possible that the Sheekans, if not the Empoöngwas, may have been eaten by the Kalees, and may therefore go armed, and in a body, to trade with them; but, *dead bodies sold by auction, and dead children devoured by their fathers*, seem the offspring of the terror of those whose countrymen may have furnished a feast for the Kaylees.

All the nations to the north of the Kaylees were said to be cannibals, but the Päämways the least voracious, because they cultivate a breed of large dogs for their own eating.

There is a people in the interior, to the south of these, who have neither possessions nor industry of their own, but who live by consuming those of others. They are called Jagas, or, as the Portuguese spell the word, Giagas. It has been said by ancient travellers, that these people fattened, roasted, and ate their prisoners, or sold them to butchers who exposed their flesh to sale in the public markets; that the father devoured the son, the son the father, and the brother the brother; that all dead bodies were eaten, by whatever disease death was occasioned; and that warm human blood was the favourite beverage. It was also said that these people buried all their children alive, immediately after their birth, that they might not be incumbered with them in their predatory excursions; and recruited their numbers by boys and girls of thirteen or fourteen years of age, taken in war, whom they trained to plunder and cannibalism.

This is not true. It is not human nature. It carries one contradiction on the face of it. If all the children were buried as soon as they were born, how could the father eat the son, or the son the father! Horrible as the whole account is, and improbable as a part, I gave it no place in my travels; but I am now induced to add it, as a European has lately returned from fifteen months' captivity among the Jagas. His companions were eaten, and he must have shared the same fate, had he

not cured a broken arm of a favourite woman belonging to the chief of the horde. The Jagas *do* devour their prisoners; human flesh *is* sold in the market; warm blood, drawn from living victims *is* their delicious beverage. Here the horrid story ends.

While we were sailing down this river, a single elephant walked very gently for some time on its bank, taking the same course with ourselves. We went on shore with an intention to shoot him, but he did not give us the opportunity; for, after we had pursued him an hour, he retreated into a wood. I have since thought that he was very obliging to us, as well as considerate to himself. On our return to the vessel we met five of these huge animals together. They suffered us quietly to pass, and we, with grateful acknowledgement of the favour, regained our boat.

The next country I visited was the kingdom of Benin. Sailing up the river Formosa, I found its banks low, fertile, full of woods and musquitoes. Each district is governed by its particular chief; but all are vassals of the king of Benin. The inhabitants are considered as slaves by their king, and are proud of being such: the title of king's slave is a distinguishing mark of honour. The towns are widely distant from each other, as well on the river as inland. There are three villages that trade with Europeans — Boededoe, which contains about fifty houses; Arebo, which is much larger; and Agatton, a considerable town, which is the market of several small villages in the vicinity. A day's journey from Agatton, inland, is the town of Benin, the residence of the king. Arebo is situated more than sixty miles above the

mouth of the river, and the river is navigable for ships beyond this place.

The will of the king of Benin is a law which none of his subjects dare oppose ; but the government is principally vested in three great officers, called the Onegwa, the Ossade, and the Arribon, who are always near the king's person, and through whom all business with the king is transacted. A fourth great officer is entrusted with the affairs relating to war. The king appoints the governors of districts and towns according to the recommendation of the three great civil officers. The badge of office is a string of beads resembling red, speckled, polished marble, which is worn about the neck. It is presented by the king, and it is death to counterfeit it, or to wear it, unless conferred by him. Once placed round the neck, it is not to be taken off ; as it is death to lose it, or even to have it stolen. There have been instances of five men having been put to death on account of one of these official necklaces ; the man to whom it belonged, because he had suffered it to be stolen ; the thief, who confessed he had stolen it ; and three other persons, who were privy to the theft, and did not discover it. If one of these be taken from the neck of the owner by irresistible force, he immediately exclaims, " I am a dead man !"

An audience is seldom denied to a European who asks it through the medium of the three great men. I had the honour of being presented to this monarch, of whose court I shall now give a description.

Across the front of the king's habitation ran an open piazza, supported by fifty-eight strong pillars



of wood, about twelve feet high, fashioned by the axe. Passing through this piazza, we came to a wall of clay, with three gates; one at either extremity, and one in the centre. On the top of the latter was placed a wooden turret, about seventy feet high, and narrowing from the base; and on the top of this was a large snake, cast in copper, with its head hanging down. Through one of the gates we entered a court about a quarter of a mile square, inclosed with a low wall. Along this court, opposite to the entrance, ran a second piazza, like the former, except that it had no centre gate, or turret; having only a gate at each end. Passing through one of these, we saw a third piazza, the supporters of which were figures, instead of columns; but so wretchedly carved, that if the natives had not distinguished them by the different appellations of merchants, soldiers, and hunters, I should scarcely have known that they were intended for men. Behind a white carpet under this piazza, I was shewn eleven human heads, cast in copper, by as skilful an artist as the carver of the pillars. On each head was placed an elephant's tooth; and each head so adorned constituted one of his majesty's household gods.

Through a gate in this piazza we entered another large court, and across the upper end of this ran a fourth piazza, on which was placed a snake like the former. Beyond this was the habitation of the king. Every separate building had a small turret of a pyramidal form, on some of which appeared the figure of a bird with extended wings, cast in copper. It is said that the whole of the

royal residence occupies as much space as the city of Bourdeaux. It is detached from the town.

The first apartment is the hall of audience, in which the king receives strangers. He was sitting on an ivory couch, under a canopy of Indian silk, and attended by his three great men. On his left hand, before a piece of fine tapestry, were seven other divinities, in the form of elephant's teeth, well polished, and placed on pedestals of ivory. The king seemed a man of an affable demeanour. I stood, according to custom, at about thirty yards distance from him; but, on my expressing a wish to approach nearer, he smiled, and beckoned me towards him, and I advanced to within the distance of ten or twelve. No other person was in the room, except the three great men, and a fierce looking negro with a drawn sword.

No man ever presumes to speak to the king but these three officers. All communications are made to them; they go and report them to the king, and bring back his answers; how faithfully none but themselves can tell. I presented the king with a silk night-gown, which, I was afterwards told he was much pleased with; but I had not the satisfaction of knowing it myself, as, according to the etiquette of the court of Benin, it was presented covered with mats, and not opened till I had left.

The king's mother resides in a spacious habitation, without the city, where she has her own officers and attendants. The king pays her great reverence, and frequently consults her by means of his ministers; but custom does not permit him to see her.

The people say that their king has more than fifteen hundred wives, which is not an extraordinary number ; as he not only inherits the wives of his predecessors, but of such of his subjects as die without children. These last he disposes of as he thinks proper, and if they are very handsome, he keeps them himself.

On a certain day of the year the king appears abroad to shew himself to his people. He is then mounted on one of his best horses, and the best are very indifferent, attended by several hundreds of his officers of state, and preceded and followed by musicians. At the head of this royal procession are some tame leopards, led by dwarfs or mutes. This festival is concluded by the death of ten or twelve slaves, supplied by the people, and sacrificed in honour of the king.

Another day is set apart for what is called the Coral feast. At this I was fortunately present. The king, magnificently dressed, appeared in the second court, and seated himself under a fine canopy ; his wives and principal officers, clothed in their richest apparel, arranging themselves round him. The king then rose, and went to offer sacrifice to his gods, amidst the acclamations of his people ; his attendants forming a procession. When this was over, he returned to his seat, where he remained while the people offered their oblations. The whole ceremony took up about two hours, when the monarch retired. The remainder of the day was spent in feasting ; the king distributing abundance of provisions and palm wine ; the great following his example ; and nothing was seen throughout the city but marks of re-

joicing. When I enquired into the origin of this festival, the people replied, "We do not know any thing of it."

The king of Benin has officers whose employment it is on certain days to carry a large quantity of provisions, ready dressed, for the use of the poor. These officers march two a-breast, preceded by a superior officer with a long white staff; and every person gives way to them, be his quality what it may. The great men and governors also contribute to the support of such as are unable to labour, and employ numbers at their different places of residence. Here are no beggars, nor many persons very poor.

When the king dies, his domestics solicit the honour of being buried alive with him; but this is accorded only to a few of the greatest favourites. These are let down after the corpse, the grave being large at the bottom, and small at the top, where it is closed with a stone. On the following morning the stone is removed, and the people below are asked if they have found the king. This question is repeated every successive morning, till no answer is returned, when it is concluded that the king's slaves have joined their master in a better world. Meat is then roasted on the stone, and given to the populace; who, having eaten and drunk plentifully, run about the city in the night, committing various outrages; even murdering some of those they meet, and bringing the dead bodies to the grave of the king, to be thrown in as a present to him.

When the reigning sovereign finds himself near death, he sends for the onegwa, and nominates his successor from among his sons. When the king

expires, this minister takes into his own custody the effects of the deceased, and receives the homage of all the expectants. After some days he communicates the secret to the war-minister, and the prince is sent for, and made to kneel, while they declare to him the will of his father. The prince having thanked these officers for the faithful discharge of their trust, rises, and is proclaimed king of Benin.

It cannot be doubted that the nomination of the sovereign is really vested in the onegwa ; nor is it less evident, from the homage paid him, that this is the opinion of the princes. The alternative is, indeed, a serious one ; a throne or a grave. The brothers of the new king, and even their sons, are sacrificed to his safety ; but as it is not permitted to shed royal blood, they have the satisfaction of remaining entire after death, being suffocated by having their mouths, ears, and noses filled with cloth : they are also favoured with a pompous funeral.

The new king usually retires to a village near the capital, where he keeps his court ; while the queen-mother, the onegwa, and the war-minister, like the Itegehe and the Ras in Abyssinia, take the trouble of governing the kingdom till he be of age to govern himself.

The king of Benin celebrates an annual festival in honour of his predecessors ; and twenty-five men are slaughtered on the occasion. These are malefactors, when such a number can be found ; but, if any be wanting, they are supplied by seizing any persons who are met at night in the streets, not carrying a light.

The metropolis of Benin is situated in a vast

plain. It is inclosed on one side by a double fence of the trunks of trees, about ten feet high, placed close together, and fastened by pieces of timber laid transversely. The interstices are filled up with red earth, which gives the whole the appearance of a smooth, thick wall. The other side of the city is secured by thick thorny bushes, beyond which is an impenetrable morass. The wall has several gates, ten feet in height, and five in breadth, formed of a single piece of wood. The city is at least four miles in length; the streets are long and broad, and very neatly kept; every woman sweeping the part before her own house. Formerly the place was overcharged with inhabitants, and the houses were near each other; but, in consequence of civil wars, they are now widely distant. Markets are held, morning and afternoon each day, for cattle, cotton in wool and in yarn, elephants' teeth, European goods, and, in a word, every article that is produced in the country, or finds its way to it. The houses are one story high, built with clay, and thatched with reeds, straw, or palm leaves. They receive light only through the door. The best are very large, and are divided into a number of smaller apartments. Each house has a piazza within, in which are placed benches, for seats and beds: and the large ones have also a piazza without, supported by pillars of hewn timber. The galleries and the inside walls are washed over with a red glossy substance.

No man who is not a native is allowed to reside in the city, except slaves; none of these are natives.

The country is level and interspersed with beau-

tiful trees. It does not afford a single stone. Elephants are numerous.

The people of Benin are civil and generous. The European traders say that when they make them presents, they endeavour to recompence them doubly ; and if they ask for any thing, they seldom refuse to part with it, though they want it themselves. In return, they expect to be treated with courtesy, and do not bend to pride and arrogance. They are said to be so tedious in their dealings, that to purchase a number of elephants' teeth is sometimes the work of eight or ten days ; but, at the same time, their manner is so conciliating that it is impossible to be out of humour with them.

No native of Benin is allowed to be sold ; and, of captives taken in war, the females only are sold. The payment to Europeans is chiefly made in cloths, the manufacture of the country ; the common ones blue, the better ones four stripes of blue and white, and nearly two yards long. The climate is so fatal to Europeans, and the modes of doing business of the Benin brokers (who alone are permitted to trade with them) so tardy, that their provisions being consumed, and their crews half dead or sickly, they are frequently obliged to leave the coast unpaid. If ever they return, the brokers never fail to discharge the debt with great civility.

Europeans are held in such estimation at Benin, that they are called *Owiorisa*, the Children of God ; and in discoursing with them, the inhabitants often say, in broken Portuguese, " Vos sa Dìos," You are gods. The traders much lament

that the climate is so deleterious, as no people throughout Guinea are so courteous as those of Benin.

The better sort of men wear a white cloth, about a yard long, and half as broad, which serves them for drawers. Over this they have a finer cloth, from sixteen to twenty yards in length, ornamentally plaited in the middle, and fastened on with a scarf, the end of which is adorned with fringe or lace. The upper part of the body is usually naked. In this habit they appear abroad; at home they wear only a large cloth called *paan*, thrown over the shoulders, as a cloak. Soldiers wear only a cloth round the waist. The great officers wear a short frock of scarlet cloth, and a wide cap, with a horse's tail hanging from it. The natives of Benin are well skilled in the art of dying. They dye blue, yellow, red, green, and black; and they have good soap, which makes them neatly clad. They not only are clothed in cotton of their own manufacture, but they export annually thousands of cotton cloths.

Women of the highest rank wear fine cloths, chequered with various colours, wrapped round the waist, and forming a petticoat. The upper part of the body is covered with a beautiful cloth, a yard, or more in length. Strings of coral are worn round the neck, copper or iron rings on the legs and arms, and copper rings on the fingers, placed as closely together as possible. The hair is finely curled; and some colour one half the hair red, and the other black.

Boys and girls are without clothing till they attain the age of ten or eleven years; and when they are first permitted to wear it, they are exposed



to public view, seated on a mat, or a white cotton cloth, and receive the congratulations of a multitude of people.

A great number of young men and women, more than twenty years of age, are seen in the streets without any other clothing than a string of coral, or jasper round the neck. These are such as have not obtained the king's permission to wear a habit. When a man or woman marries, this permission is no longer necessary; for it is reckoned infamous for a married person to be without clothing. If a man marry a young woman without apparel, he is not allowed to take her home till he can clothe her.

No man may enter the king's apartment in his clothes without a special permission. His being naked before the king is a token that he is his slave. In Abyssinia, as I have before observed, a subject uncovers only to the waist; in England he only uncovers his head.

The wives of the great are shut up; those of the meaner sort keep the daily markets, till the ground, and go wherever their affairs, or their labour calls them. If a man receive a visit in his own house, and any of his wives chance to be with him, they immediately retire; but if the visitor be a European, they remain by the husband's command; and if business call him away, he desires his wives to entertain the stranger till his return.

Among the common people, if the wife be caught in adultery, all the effects of the guilty man become the instant property of the injured husband; and the woman receives a hearty cudgelling, and is expelled the house. Among the better sort, the relations prevent this disgrace by

appeasing the husband's anger with money ; and the transgressor is restored to his favour. The great revenge themselves by the instant death of both parties.

When an infant is seven days old, it is supposed to have passed its greatest danger from evil spirits, and a small feast is made : still it is considered necessary to propitiate them by strewing victuals in all the paths near the dwelling. The male infants are presented to the king, as belonging of right to him : the females reside with the father till they are grown up, when he disposes of them as he pleases.

In all parts of Benin, except Arebo, twin births afford matter of public rejoicing ; but at that town both mother and children are sacrificed to an inexorable demon who resides in a neighbouring wood. If, however the wife be dear to her husband, he may sacrifice a female slave in her stead ; but nothing can save the children, and there have been instances of a priest butchering his own. It sometimes happens that, to prevent the possibility of this painful sacrifice, the husband sends his wife to a distant part of the country, when the time of her delivery draws nigh. The priests keep this haunt of the demon so sacred that no person is allowed to enter it ; and they persuade the people that some severe calamity would fall upon the land, if the custom respecting the twin children were violated.

If a native of the metropolis die in a distant part of the kingdom, the corpse is dried over a gentle fire, and conveyed to this city to be interred. When a woman of distinction dies, thirty or forty slaves are massacred on the day of her burial. One

woman has been known to have had seventy-eight sacrificed, who were all her own property ; and to complete the number of eighty, which she, while living, had ordered to be slain on this occasion, two young children, a boy and a girl, whom she had loved exceedingly, were murdered. The dead are commonly buried in their best apparel, and a greater or lesser number of slaves, according to the quality of the deceased, are sacrificed to attend them. The funeral ceremonies usually continue seven or eight days, and consist of lamentations, songs, dancing, and hard drinking ; and after a corpse has been interred with all these formalities, it is sometimes taken up, and buried again with a repetition of them, sacrifices included.

The near relations mourn during several months ; some with half the head shaved, others with the whole. One day in the year, the great celebrate the decease of their ancestors and relations by a very expensive feast.

When a person of condition dies, the eldest son, who is the sole heir, presents a slave to the king, and another to the three great men, with a petition that he may succeed his father. This is granted. He bestows what he pleases on his younger brothers ; allows his mother a creditable maintenance ; and employs his father's other wives at his residence.

If a woman be left a widow, she cannot marry again without the consent of her son, if she have a son ; or if he be too young, the man who marries her is obliged to give him a female slave, to wait upon him, instead of his mother.

The wealthy among the people of Benin eat beef, mutton, and fowls ; and, instead of bread,

yams, boiled, beaten fine, and made into cakes. They give great entertainments to their friends; the common people eat the flesh of cats and dogs.

Their arms are hassagays, pointed arrows, a sort of cutlass, and shields made of small bamboos. They are so cowardly that nothing but necessity can urge them to fight; and when in the field, their conduct is so confused and disorderly, that they themselves are ashamed of it. If their flight be prevented, they turn upon the enemy, not to fight, but to surrender.

All negroes are dancers; but those of Benin are the best.

Theft is rare in Benin. When it is discovered, after restitution of the stolen goods, it is punished by a fine; but if the thief be unable to pay the fine, he is beaten.

Murder is still more rare than theft. It is punished with death by decapitation, and the body is quartered, and exposed to beasts and birds of prey. The latter are held in such estimation, that provisions are regularly laid for them in particular places. If the murderer be a considerable person, he is conducted by a strong guard to the utmost confines of the kingdom, where he is left, and never heard of more.

In a case of murder without premeditation, the offender may ransom his life by burying the dead creditably, at his own expence; paying a large sum to the three great men; and producing a slave to suffer in his place. In this case he kneels, and touches the slave with his forehead, as he is executed.

If an accusation be not clearly proved, the suspected person undergoes an ordeal, to prove his

guilt or innocence. Of this there are four different sorts in common use. In the first, a cock's feather is prepared by the priest, and pierced through the tongue of the accused. If it pass through easily, and be drawn out at the bottom, the man is innocent; if it stick in the tongue he is guilty. In the second, the priest takes an oblong clod of earth, into which, it being less sensible of pain than the tongue, he sticks seven or nine quills of a cock. The suspected person draws these out successively; and if they come out with ease, he is innocent; if with difficulty, he is guilty. In the third, the priest squirts the juice of certain green herbs into the eyes of the accused. If it do not hurt him, he is innocent; if his eyes become inflamed, he is guilty. In the fourth, the priest passes a red hot copper arm-ring three times over the tongue of the supposed culprit; and from his being hurt, or not hurt, by the operation, he is pronounced guilty or innocent.

In the different ordeals of cock's quills and that of the juice of herbs, something seems to be left to the management of the priest; but it appears to me, that red hot copper must infallibly find a man guilty.

Of the fines, a part goes to the injured person; a part to the governor of the town or province; and the rest to the three great men for the king, whom it never reaches. If the three great men be not satisfied with this share, they inform the governor that he has not done his duty, but must send them more; and he knows their authority too well to dispute their opinion.

The people of Benin believe in an invisible deity, who created heaven and earth, and governs

them with absolute power ; but they conceive it needless to worship him, because he is always doing good without their services. They also believe in a malignant deity ; to whom they sacrifice men and animals, to satiate his thirst of blood, and prevent him from doing them mischief. But they have innumerable objects of worship ;—elephant's teeth, claws, bones, dead men's heads, any trifle that chance throws in their way, to which they make daily offerings of a few boiled yams, mixed with palm oil. On great occasions they sacrifice a cock, treating the divinity with the blood only, and reserving the flesh for themselves. Persons of high rank give an annual feast to their gods, at which multitudes of cattle are offered to the idols and eaten by the people. Each offers his own sacrifices, without giving the priests any sort of trouble.

## CHAPTER XX.

## WHYDAH.

**A**BOUT fifty miles west of Benin lies what was formerly the kingdom of Whydah. No such kingdom now exists ; but I shall give some account of it from a Dutch slave-trader who visited this coast, between the years 1692 and 1700. This part of the country is called the Slave Coast.

This gentleman begins by stating that slaves were so plentiful in the interior that two were sometimes sold for a handful of salt ; and that he himself had laden three ships with this article of merchandize, at Whydah, in fourteen days. He says that the people delivered a thousand slaves a month, and that from twenty-five to fifty ships were laden in a year. The territory did not extend more than ten miles along the coast ; but it may be supposed to have been one of the principal marts for human beings \*. These creatures came from the inland countries, where there were markets for men, as in Europe for beasts. When a cargo of them arrived at Whydah, they were conducted to prison, from whence they were drawn out into a large open plain, where they were stripped,

\* Before the English attempted to abolish the slave trade, it is said that 80,000 slaves were annually exported from Africa. I wish it were possible to know how much the number is now diminished.

and carefully examined by European surgeons. Their mouths were looked into, like those of a horse, to judge of their age, and they were made to jump, and stretch out their arms swiftly, to shew whether they were sound; wind and limb. All above thirty-five years of age, all the sickly, all the maimed, or blemished, if only by the loss of a tooth, were set aside. The young and healthy were purchased at a fixed price, and paid for in cowries, and in goods; the women being worth one fourth, or one fifth, less than the men.

These animals were delivered to their purchasers, who branded them with a hot iron, that they might not be exchanged for others of less value. They were then returned to prison, and fed on bread and water, at the cost of their present owners, till they could be stowed on board a ship: but as flesh and blood, bone and skin, were the only articles of sale, the former owners retained the clothing, and left the slaves naked; and naked they generally remained to the end of the voyage. There were frequently six or seven hundred slaves on board one ship, which, the honest Dutchman says, "is almost incredible; but they lie as close together as it is possible for them to be crammed." It was to be lamented that, notwithstanding this kind treatment, the negroes were so wilful as sometimes to starve or drown themselves, rather than make a voyage to Barbadoes, shackled two and two together. When the cargo could not otherwise be completed, the king would sell three or four hundred of his wives; but this affectionate husband sometimes repented, and sending for one lady back, substituted another in her place.



In carrying burdens from the ship to the village, which was three miles distant, the negro porters trotted so swiftly with a hundred pounds weight on their heads, that a Dutchman, with nothing to carry, could not keep pace with them. They were more expert thieves than the pick-pockets of Paris, and would elude the vigilance of Argus, if his hundred were a thousand eyes. If by chance they were detected, they would say, "Do you think we would work for such low wages, if we had not the privilege of stealing?" The warehouse of the trader was robbed; the locks were entire, and he had safely kept the key. He discovered that a hole had been made in the roof, and that his goods had been drawn out by a hook fixed to the end of a long pole. On his first coming into the country, the king of Whydah had given him a caution. "Be upon your guard against my subjects," said he, "They will not poison you, like the people of Ardra, or other neighbouring countries; but they will rob you whenever they can." The slave-trader afterwards found that the only way to be secure from robbery was to leave the country.

It may be presumed that these adroit thieves were not in the practice of robbing, or their neighbours in that of poisoning, each other; but that both considered the retaliation just against the trader who came to buy their persons.

The men of Whydah were quick and accurate in mercantile accounts; reckoning as justly and as readily, to the amount of thousands, with their heads alone, as the Europeans with the assistance of pen and ink. They were not acquainted with the value of gold and silver; nor had they either.

Every thing in the kingdom, were it ever so mean, paid a toll to the king ; and the collectors, of whom there were above a thousand, stationed themselves in all the roads that led to the market, to receive it. The whole amounted to an incredible sum ; but about three fourths of it was absorbed by the collectors before it reached the king.

The land was so well cultivated, that scarcely a foot-path was unplanted with grain ; yet the country was so populous, and so much grain was sold to the neighbouring nations, that it was often scarce before harvest. A barren year reduced free men to liberate their slaves, and sell themselves, for want of sustenance. Bread was boiled, not baked. Water was drawn out of deep and narrow wells, and was too cold to be drank by a Dutchman. Beer was brewed from millet.

The king of Whydah was magnificently clothed in gold and silver. He was never seen to eat ; and no person ever drank out of the cup or glass used by him. None of his subjects, whatever were their rank, dared to stand in his presence. When they went to salute him in a morning, they prostrated themselves on the ground before the door of his house, kissing the earth three times, clapping their hands, and whispering some words in adoration of the king. They then crawled on all fours into his presence, where they repeated the same reverence, and remained prostrate on the earth around till the monarch retired.

There seems to be a general propensity in men to exalt one of their number above the rest, and not only to obey, but to worship him. The Africans, particularly, endeavour to raise this idol above the common functions and wants of human

nature. In Abyssinia he is not heard to speak; in Loango and Whydah he is not seen to eat; in Benin he is scarcely seen at all. The trader once asked a favourite where the king of Whydah slept, and he answered by another question, "Where does God sleep?" adding, "it is just as impossible for us to know the king's bedchamber."

The king was indebted to this merchant about a hundred pounds; and, being about to leave the country for a time, he asked the sovereign, who would pay him at his return, in case he should die? The king answered, with a smile, that he need not give himself any trouble on that account; for he should not die, but always live. The courtiers looked astonished at the question; and the merchant, perceiving that he had made some blunder, took his leave; but, being followed by some of the officers, he demanded the reason of their amazement. They replied, that no person dared, on pain of death, to speak of death in the king's presence; much less to talk of his dying himself.

The king of Whydah did, however, sometimes die; and with him died all order and honesty. As soon as his death was publicly known, every person began to steal his neighbour's property, openly, and without being liable to punishment; and this system of plunder continued till the new king was seated on the throne, when he forbade it by proclamation, and was instantly obeyed.

None were permitted to wear red but the royal family. In Congo I observed it to be the colour of the chenoos and great men.

The negroes of Whydah were so fond of gaming that they staked all they had in the world at play. When money and goods were wanting, they staked

first their wives and children, and then their lands and persons.

No rich negro ever suffered any man to enter the houses in which his wives resided. If a man were criminal with the wife of such a person, it was not enough to cut off the head of the offender, his whole family was sold to slavery.

The wives of the king were sometimes the executioners of the sentences he pronounced against offenders; three or four hundred of them being sent to the habitation of a malefactor, with orders to strip it, and level it with the ground. As all persons were forbidden, on pain of death, to touch the king's wives, they proceeded in their work without interruption.

The slave-merchant had seen men who were the fathers of more than two hundred children. He asked one of the captains, whose name, or, more probably, whose title, was Agoei, how many children he had. The officer sighed, and said, "Only seventy." "But," rejoined the merchant, "you have lost some?" "Yes," replied the negro, "about as many as are living, but both together make a very small number." The king of Whydah, who was present at this conversation, assured the trader, that one of his viceroys, with his sons and grandsons, amounted to two thousand, without reckoning daughters, or sons that were dead.

The people of Whydah believed in an Almighty and Omnipresent Creator of the universe; but he was not an object of their worship, as they thought him too highly exalted above them to trouble himself about the affairs of mankind. When they undertook any matter of importance, they committed its success to the first object that appeared

on their going out of the house ; a dog, a cat, or any other animal ; and, in default of these, a tree, a stone, a piece of wood. The newly-constituted deity was presented with an offering, accompanied with a solemn vow, that, if he would prosper the undertaking, he should be revered as a god. If the affair proved successful, the vow was fulfilled, and the divinity was presented with daily offerings ; if otherwise, he was rejected, and returned to his primitive estate.

The people of Whydah had three public objects of devotion ; some lofty trees, the sea, and a certain sort of snake. The chief of these was the snake ; the trees and the sea not interfering with his government, but being subject to his superintendence and reproof. The snake was invoked in all excesses of the seasons, in all difficulties of the state, in all dangers of the cattle, in all circumstances not committed to the above-mentioned deities of chance.

The priests of the snake had this year exacted so many offerings from the king, in order to obtain a good crop of grain, that his majesty's patience was exhausted. Finding him one day in a passion, the trader ventured to ask him what had discomposed him. He replied, " I have sent much larger offerings to the snake-house this year than usual ; and now the priests threaten me with a barren season if I do not send more ! I will send no more ; and if the snake will not bestow a plentiful harvest, he may let it alone. I cannot be more injured than I am ; for the greatest part of my corn is rotten in the field already."

The snake-house was situated about two miles distant from the king's village, under the shade of

a beautiful tree. The deity that resided in it was the chief and the largest of all snakes : he was said to be as thick as a man, and of an immeasurable length : he must also have been one of the oldest of snakes ; for the priests reported that a great number of years before, being disgusted with the wickedness of man, he left his own country, and came to them. He was welcomed by every expressible sign of reverence, and carried on a silken carpet to the snake-house, where he had resided to the present time.

It was affirmed that the great snake went out to take the air at different times, and at these times every young woman he touched became distracted. It was certain that in every large village there was a house appropriated to the reception of these young maniacs, where they were boarded, lodged, and restored to reason by the priests, at a considerable expence to their fathers and husbands : and it was observable, that no women were touched by the snake whose friends could not afford this expence. An intelligent negro, the interpreter of the slave-merchant, whose wife had been touched by the snake, gave him the following account of this miracle.

The priests kept their eye upon those young ladies who had not yet seen the snake ; and having fixed upon one for the present occasion, they gave her the necessary instructions, and tempted her by promises, or obliged her by threats, to follow them. The woman then went into the street, and watching an opportunity when no person was in sight, cried, "The snake! the snake!" Before any one could come to her assistance, she had been touched, and the snake had vanished. The

lady was raving mad, and was conducted to the asylum for religious lunatics. When the cure was effected, she was set at liberty; and present and everlasting vengeance denounced against her if she betrayed the secret.

When the wife of the merchant's interpreter was touched by the snake, she began by breaking to pieces every utensil in the house. The husband, who, from having lived a good deal with Europeans, suspected from whence the malady proceeded, led her gently by the hand, as if he were going to take her to the snake-house; instead of which he took her to the residence of some European slave-merchants, who were then at Whydah, purchasing slaves, intending to sell her. The lady, finding him in earnest, was instantly cured of her madness, fell on her knees, confessed the trick, and implored his forgiveness. This was a bold attempt; and had the priests discovered it, the death of the husband would have been the consequence.

A negro from the Gold Coast, who was interpreter to the English merchants at Whydah, was less fortunate than the interpreter of the Dutchman; for, having a wife seized with this frenzy, he put her in irons; and when she was released, she privately informed the priests of the transaction. The man being a stranger, they did not choose openly to attack him; but he was soon after poisoned.

While the Dutch slave-merchant was at Whydah, one of the daughters of the king was touched by the snake; but the confinement of the princess was short, and, instead of money being disbursed at her liberation, she sat, during four days, at her

father's gate, receiving presents from all the principal persons in the kingdom.

Besides the great snake, who had a house allotted him to reside in, and men and women servants, that is, priests and priestesses, appointed to attend him, his species was held in great veneration throughout the country. If a negro hurt one of these snakes, or even touched it with a stick, he was condemned to the flames. An English captain, having killed one of them in his house, shewed it to the natives, believing he had done them a service by destroying an enemy; but the people were so incensed, that they murdered all the English, and burnt their house and goods. Since that time, no European had dared to destroy one of these snakes; though, in hot weather, they visited their dwellings, five or six at a time, creeping on the benches, chairs, tables and beds; and, if they were not disturbed, would sometimes continue under the beds for seven or eight days, and bring forth their young.

The negroes would, at the request of the Europeans, gently carry their divinities out of the house; but when they stationed themselves among the timbers of the roof, they were obliged to let them remain till they chose to descend. They were, however, perfectly inoffensive. They were streaked with white, yellow, and brown; and the largest seen by the merchant was two yards long, and as thick as a man's arm. They were fond of rats. If a snake were in the roof, and a rat passed along the floor, the snake impatiently hissed, and used all possible diligence to disengage itself; while the rat, conscious that the time this would take was his security, looked undaunted on his



dreadful adversary, and escaped at his leisure. When caught, the snake was more than an hour in swallowing its prey ; his throat being at first too narrow, and distending by degrees.

From this circumstance it appears that the people of Whydah did not worship the snake, and protect him in their houses, without a motive ; for if snakes had not eaten rats, rats might have devoured the harvest. In Popo, an adjoining territory, the rats were in such incredible numbers that the trader counselled the inhabitants to attack them in time, lest they should drive them out of the country, and take possession of it themselves.

The priests and priestesses shared the reverence of which the snake was the principal object. They were exempt from capital punishment ; and as an ordinary woman was the slave of her husband, so the husband of a priestess was the slave of his wife.

A Capuchin friar said mass before the king while the slave-merchant was at Whydah, and when he next saw him, he asked his majesty how he liked it. " Very well," replied the monarch ; " it was very fine ; but I will keep to my fetish."

The merchant afterwards met with the monk at the house of one of the chief officers ; and he told his entertainer in a menacing manner, that if the people of Whydah continued in their present course of life, they would unavoidably go to hell, and burn with the devil. " Our fathers and grandfathers," said the officer, " lived as we do, and worshipped the same gods that we do : we are not better than our ancestors ; and if they must burn, we shall comfort ourselves with their society."

The king of Whydah could bring 200,000 men into the field ; but they were so weak and cowardly

that 5,000 well armed-negroes of the Gold Coast would have put them to flight. Their fear of death was such that most of them began to retreat before the enemy appeared; and it often happened that the general reached home before the soldiers. They did, however, shew rather more bravery in defending their own country than in attacking that of their neighbour. Their arms were muskets, bows and arrows, fine and well-made hangers, and strong and beautiful hassagays. The people of Whydah and Ardra had also a sort of club of very heavy wood, about a yard in length, and five or six inches in circumference, very round and even, except a knot at the bottom, about four inches in breadth. This was a deadly weapon, and every man was provided with five or six of these, which he threw against his opponent.

The king of Great Ardra, a country bordering upon Whydah, and farther inland, was said, with his dependent governments, to have been twenty times stronger than the king of Whydah; and farther still inland were yet more powerful monarchs. While the Dutchman was in this part of Africa, an ambassador came from one of these to the King of Great Ardra, informing him that many subjects of Ardra had been complaining to his master of the ill treatment they had suffered from their viceroys; and counselling the king to order his viceroys to treat his poor subjects with greater lenity; otherwise this powerful sovereign would be obliged, though very reluctantly, to come to the assistance of the men of Ardra, and take them under his own protection.

The king of Ardra's answer to this remonstrance was the murder of the ambassador.

The powerful king sent an army of cavalry, the Ardrese said a million of men, but possibly their account of millions might not be very exact, against the king of Ardra. They quickly subdued half the country; and such was the slaughter they made, that the men of Ardra expressed the number by the grains of corn in the field. Each invader carried home with him indubitable tokens of the number of men he had slain; and no one dared to take with him a prisoner, unless those he had killed amounted to a hundred. When the victorious army reached home, the sovereign ordered the commander to be hanged; not because he had not slain a sufficient number of innocent men, but because he had not destroyed the royal murderer of his ambassador.

Here ends the Dutch merchant's account of Whydah. Whydah, once a flourishing and independent kingdom, is now a province of the empire of Dahomy. The king of Hio was probably the powerful sovereign whose general had invaded Ardra, and was hanged because he did not kill the king.

It is criminal in the natives of Dahomy to converse upon politics; and even the old soldier dares not shew his scars, or talk of his exploits; yet with great assiduity I have collected some facts relating to this country which will introduce the monarch to my reader before I visit him.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF DAHOMY.

**T**HE Dahomans were formerly called Foys, and they inhabited a small territory on the north-east part of their present kingdom. Early in the seventeenth century, Tacoodonoo, their chief, murdered a neighbouring prince who was with him on a friendly visit, seized upon Calmina, his principal town, and soon after made himself master of his kingdom. He then invaded a more powerful state, and laid siege to Abomey, its capital; and as he met with some resistance, he made a solemn vow, that if he proved successful he would sacrifice its prince to his fetish. The town was reduced; the prince was captured, his belly was ripped open, and the wall of a new palace for the conqueror was carried over his body. This palace, when finished, was called Dahomy, or Da's belly; *Da* being the name of the prince, and *homy*, in the language of these people, signifying the belly. Tacoodonoo fixed his residence here, and assumed the title of king of Dahomy, and his subjects changed the appellation of Foys for that of Dahomans. This happened about the year 1625.

About the year 1724, Guaja Trudo, the fourth king of Dahomy, conquered the kingdom of Ardra. Trudo had abundance of plate, wrought gold, and other sumptuous articles; but while he boasted of wealth and conquest, he was himself in fear of a sovereign still more powerful, the king of Hio,

whose dominions lie, as it is said, about a hundred and fifty, or two hundred leagues to the north-east of Abomey ; and after the first invasion of the Hioes, Trudo thought proper to purchase their forbearance by considerable presents.

In the year 1727 Trudo conquered Whydah. A few weeks after, he was visited in his camp at Ardra by the captain of an English vessel, who gives the following account of his expedition.

In travelling from Jaquin to Ardra, a distance of about forty miles, the captain and his companions found the roads good ; the country beautiful ; the towns and villages destroyed ; and the fields strewn with human bones. When they arrived within half a mile of the Dahoman camp, they were met by one of the principal officers, attended by five hundred soldiers with muskets, drawn swords, shields, and banners. The commander and several of his officers, approached the travellers with ceremonies which they did not view wholly without apprehension ; flourishing their naked swords over the heads of the strangers, pointing them to their breasts, skipping and jumping round them with many extraordinary gestures. The officer then assumed a grave air ; and after he had drank their healths, and they had returned the compliment by drinking the health of the king, he conducted them to the camp.

The camp was situated near the ruined town of Ardra, which was said to have been nine miles in circumference, including its gardens and shady walks. The soldiers were in huts like bee-hives, constructed with small boughs, and covered with thatch, each large enough to contain ten or twelve men, who crept in at a hole on one side.

The strangers had chairs that had been taken from the Whydahs, placed for them under the shade of some trees. Multitudes of people flocked to see them ; but they were kept from intruding by the soldiers.

The travellers dined on ham and fowls, which they had brought with them ; but they were so annoyed by flies that they could scarcely put a morsel into their mouths, without taking some of these troublesome insects with it. Had they known from whence they proceeded, horror would have taken place of disgust ; for, on their being conducted to the king, they passed two heaps of human heads, piled on two large stages, and covered with swarms of their late visitors. These, they were told, were the heads of four thousand of the Whydahs, who had been sacrificed to celebrate the late victory.

The king's gate opened into a large court, inclosed with palisades. In this, Trudo was seen, sitting on a fine gilt chair, taken from the king of Whydah. Three large umbrellas were held over his head by as many women, and four women stood behind him, with muskets on their shoulders. All were richly dressed from the waist downwards ; the upper part of the body being uncovered. Their arms were adorned with many large bracelets of gold ; and round their necks, and in their hair they wore abundance of beads \*, of various colours, brought from a country far inland, where they were dug out of the earth. These were as highly valued by the negroes as diamonds are by Europeans. The king wore a gown flowered with

\* Probably aggrary beads.

gold that reached to his ancles, a European embroidered hat, and sandals on his feet.

The visitors were placed within about ten yards of the chair of state, and ordered to stand still. The king bade them welcome; they bowed low; he ordered chairs for them, and drank their healths, which they returned by drinking his; after which he invited them to stay and see the customs of his country.

A short time previous to this, the king had sent twelve of his wives from Ardra to Abomey, attended by a number of slaves carrying a valuable part of the spoil, and guarded by five hundred soldiers. These had been attacked on the road by a people called Tuffoes, who had defeated the guard, murdered the women, and seized the treasure. A part of the Dahoman army had been sent to punish the offenders, and a detachment now returned, bringing with them eighteen hundred prisoners. The king selected some of these for sacrifice; some he reserved for his own use, or for sale to the Europeans; and upwards of two hundred he distributed among his officers. Persons were in readiness to receive the captives from those soldiers who had taken them, and to pay them in cowries after the value of twenty shillings for each man, and ten for a woman or child. Those were next rewarded who had brought the heads of the slain, for each of which they received the value of five shillings. Some of the soldiers carried three or four heads in a string. The payment of the troops chiefly depended, and still depends upon the success of their expeditions.

During the whole of this ceremony, the great men, both of the court and army, were prostrate

on the ground, none approaching nearer the king's chair than twenty feet. If they had any communication to make, they first kissed the earth, and then whispered it in the ear of an old woman, who reported it to the sovereign, and brought back his answer. When any received a present of a slave, an officer proclaimed it aloud, and it was immediately re-echoed by the crowd, which was assembled without, waiting for the victims.

As the travellers passed through the gate, after quitting the king, they were surprised by the sight of forty stout men ranged on both sides of it, with muskets on their shoulders, broad swords in their hands, and numerous strings of human teeth round their necks, hanging down to the waist both before and behind. These, they were told, were the king's worthies, or heroes, who, having slain many enemies in battle, were allowed to wear their teeth as trophies of their valour. It was death for one of these heroes to wear a tooth if he had not killed its former owner with his own hand.

After they had dined, the travellers repaired to the place where the prisoners were to be sacrificed. Four small stages were erected at about five feet from the ground, by the side of one of which the English captain took his station. The first victim was a comely old man, between fifty and sixty years of age, with a firm countenance and undaunted mind. He was brought to the side of the stage with his hands tied behind him; and, as he stood erect, the fetish-man or priest, laid his hand upon his head, and made a speech, which lasted about two minutes. This ended, he made a sign to the executioner, who was standing behind the



prisoner, and who immediately severed his head from his body with one stroke of a broad sword. The multitude gave a great shout ; the head was thrown upon the stage ; and the body, after having lain a short time, that the blood might drain from it, was carried away by slaves, and thrown on a spot near the camp. The same scene was doubtless exhibiting at the other three stages, at the same time. The Englishman was informed that the blood belonged to the fetish, the head to the king, and the body to the common people ; by which last he understood that it was given them to be eaten. The king, it was said, intended to build a monument of his victory with these and other skulls.

The English captain saw many other victims sacrificed in the same manner. The behaviour of the men was bold and daring : the cries of the women and children were lamentable. During this exhibition the Englishman entered into conversation with some of the Dahoman officers. One of them said, that after every victory a certain number of captives, selected by the king himself, was offered to their god, and that, if this were omitted, no farther success would attend them in war. He added, that the victories they had already obtained were a proof that this custom was both necessary and useful. The Englishman observed that the Dahomans spared neither old nor young. The officer replied, that the old were too cunning to be spared, and of too little value to be sold ; and the young were designed to attend, in the other world, upon those Dahomans they had killed in this.

The English captain ventured to ask what opinion the Dahomans entertained of their god, and he found that they believed him to be subordinate to some other. "Perhaps," added the officer, "this great God may be your's; the God who has communicated so many extraordinary things to white men; but, as he has not been pleased to make himself known to us, we must be satisfied with the one we worship."

The travellers retired from the scene of blood; and, walking out again in the evening, they passed two large heaps of headless bodies, the victims of the day, which, they were told, amounted to four hundred. The next morning all had vanished; and, as the interpreter said, all had been eaten by the Dahomans.

The Europeans were admitted to another audience of Trudo, and found the commander of this bloody massacre, and the donor of this inhuman feast, both intelligent and polite. Their business was to regulate the duties on the slave trade, and the monarch observed that, though, as a conquerer he could establish what imposts he pleased, yet, as this was the first English captain with whom he had treated on affairs of commerce, he would indulge him like a young bride, who, at first, must be denied nothing. The conversation lasted till near nine o'clock in the evening, when they were told it was the king's washing time, and they retired.

On the following day the visitors expected an audience of leave; but it was the king's fetish day, on which he received no company. He sent them a polite message, accompanied with a present

of slaves, cattle, and provisions for themselves, and money and clothes for their servants.

In the afternoon the remainder of the troops who had been sent against the Tuffoes returned from the expedition. They consisted of about 8,000 men, armed with muskets, swords, and shields. They marched in regular order, and were divided into companies, each having its proper officers and colours. As they passed the king's gate, every soldier prostrated himself and kissed the ground, and then sprang up with surprising agility. They afterwards went through their exercise in the area before the palace gate : it lasted two hours, during which time they fired twenty rounds of powder. This army was attended by at least 10,000 people, who carried baggage, provisions, dead men's heads, &c. Each soldier was allowed a boy to bear his shield ; the boy serving, at the same time, an apprenticeship to the trade of war, and, at a future time, recruiting the army.

The following morning the travellers quitted the camp of Guadja Trudo, and returned to Jaquin.

The present sovereign of Dahomy was called Bossa Ahádee. On his first assuming the regal dignity, he ordered his brother to be sewed up in a hammock, and carried to Whydah, where he was put into a canoe, taken about two leagues out to sea, thrown overboard, and drowned ; royal blood being here, as in some other places, too sacred to be shed. The royal name was also sacred in the opinion of Bossa ; for one of the first acts of his reign was to order every man in his dominions of that name to be put to death.

The Mahee country, a republic composed of several small states, joins Dahomy on the westward. Bossa Ahádee insisted upon altering its form of government, and resolved that the people should have a king. The Mahee states declined the honour proposed to them. Ahádee, surrounded by persons who paid an implicit obedience to his will, could not bear contradiction, and therefore told his *agaow*, or commander of his forces, that *his house wanted thatch*, which is the expression used in giving orders to go to war; alluding to the custom of placing the heads of the enemy on the roofs of the guard-houses at the entrances of the royal habitations.

The war had been carried on fifteen years with various success, when the Mahees were compelled to retreat to a very high mountain called Boagry, where they had a supply of water, and space to sow corn. When the army of Dahomy had invested the mountain of the Mahees nearly a year, the king sent his general all the forces he could draw together, with orders to take the place, at whatever risk or loss. The general, who was now to conquer or die, assailed the mountain in every accessible part; and after sustaining a prodigious loss, and making an immense slaughter of the Mahees, he brought the remnant of them to adorn with their heads the thatch of his master's house.

The Mahees, though defeated, were not subjugated. They fought the Dahomans twelve years longer, when they were again obliged to retreat to Boagry. The Dahoman general had again encamped round the mountain about a year, when the king, impatient at the delay, accused him of cowardice, and sent another officer to take the

command. The superseded general knew his master too well to appear in his presence, and retired to the Mahees, who protected him. The new general made an attack upon Boagry, was repulsed, and obliged to raise the siege, and after eight years more of war, Bossa Ahádee consented that the Mahees should remain without a king.

Fear never enters the heart of a Dahoman. When the people of Whydah endeavoured to regain their liberty, the caukaow, or general stationed in that province, marched against them with an inferior force. The two commanders met at the head of their troops, and held a dispassionate conversation, declaring their respective determinations, the one to conquer, the other to defend, the country. They drank together; the caukaow drinking the health of his king, and wishing that, if he were unsuccessful that day, he might not survive the disgrace; but perish like the glass which he held in his hand, and which, as he spoke, he dashed upon the ground. The battle then commenced, with ferocious courage, and rude skill on both sides; and continued till the caukaow fell, after receiving and inflicting innumerable wounds. The first in rank were foremost in danger; nearly all the chieftains of the Dahoman army were slain; and the army, destitute of leaders, was totally routed.

Whydah, however, still remained subject to the king of Dahomy; and Tanga, the succeeding viceroy, formed a design to make himself king of this province. His design was discovered; and Bossa Ahádee sent some troops against him, who besieged him in his house, which he had fortified. His affairs becoming desperate, he harangued his

adherents, and distributed among them all his treasure, consisting of silks, coral, gold, &c. to animate them in his cause. His wives, amounting to some hundreds, joined their persuasions, and his people, wrought to a degree of heroism, refused to sacrifice him to their own safety, which they might have secured by delivering him up. They determined to force their way through the king's troops, and conduct their master to the English fort, and there recommend him to the governor's mercy and protection.

This resolution being taken, the women put each other to death ; the elder first slaughtering the young ones, and then cutting their own throats. The house was set on fire, to destroy such of the effects as were not portable ; and Tanga and his adherents sallied forth, with such treasure as they could carry. They made good their passage through the king's troops, and arrived at the English fort : the English fired upon them as they approached ; and Tanga, retreating, into the garden, received a shot which put an end to his life and ambitious projects. His followers immediately dispersed ; some escaped ; but the greater number were taken and suffered death.

The history of every country abounds with violent deaths ; but what history so much as that of Dahomy ? Is death the same object of terror to the minds of the Dahomans as to ours ? I believe it is not. Custom, that grand smotherer of difficulties, together with a blind devotion to their sovereign, may have reconciled these people to a premature termination of their existence, and made them regard it with indifference.

When the number of women called Tanga's

wives cut their throats, they were actuated by other motives than affection for his person. These women were a necessary appendage to his rank, the magazine out of which he generously supplied his servants with wives ; and they would not survive the death of their intended husbands, whose destruction they regarded as inevitable.

Bossa Ahádee was the universal heir of the wealth of his subjects ; but he frequently chose rather to possess their effects during their lives. The innocent inhabitants of whole villages, were often sold as slaves, to raise the necessary supplies. To serve him with fidelity, and become eminent by success, was to be the victim of his suspicion.

An officer named Shampo was the darling of the soldiers, and every tongue was busy in his praise. This was a sufficient crime in the eyes of Ahádee, and he resolved to destroy him. In the king's house was a sister of Shampo, who by some means, got an intimation of this design. She could have no interview with her brother, for the king's women are not allowed to converse with any man ; but she was at liberty to send him provisions from the royal residence ; and she concealed a knife, and a cord with a noose at the end of it, among the victuals. Shampo was not at a loss to comprehend the meaning of these significant tokens, and immediately withdrew to a neighbouring nation.

The agaow who had taken Boagry and recovered Whydah once stood so high in the estimation of the king, that he actually gave him leave to build himself a house two stories high. In a country where no inhabitant dares sit upon a chair, except a few of the principal officers, who enjoy this privilege by especial favour ; where none may

presume, on pain of death, to have a door of boards to his house, or to white-wash it within ; in such a country the permission to build a house two stories high, was a mark of extraordinary distinction. The general modestly declined the honour. Some time after, he was seized and brought before the king, who accused him of an intention to quit the kingdom, and join his enemies. The general answered to the following effect :

“ I have manifested my zeal for your service on various occasions, and thought no march fatiguing, no battle hazardous, while executing your will. My actions have added affluence and honour to your kingdom. What part of my conduct has exposed me to this accusation? You have in your hands, as pledges for the fidelity of your slave, my aged mother, my wives, and my children. And where, or to whom should I go? I have conducted your armies, and spread destruction through all the nations around us ; is it probable that I should throw myself into the hands of those who tremble at my name? of those whose country I have laid waste, and whose countrymen I have led captive to your gate?”

This defence was lost upon Ahádee, who desired his general to acknowledge himself guilty, and trust to his royal clemency for a pardon. The brave agaow refused to pronounce a falsehood, and was immediately executed. His eldest son was afterwards one of the servants of an English factor.

The army of Dahómy was at one time so harassed by fighting, famine, and pestilence, in an enemy's country, that the whole perished, except twenty-four persons. When these carried the



dismal tidings to their king, he ordered them to immediate execution, bidding them go to the world of spirits, to inform their comrades how much he disapproved of their conduct in the war.

In the next engagement the Dahomans were also unsuccessful. Of thirty-two general officers, distinguished by having large umbrellas carried over them, thirty were killed upon the spot. The commander was one of the survivors, and escaped from the field ; but, overwhelmed with grief and shame, he sat down beneath a tree and shot himself. The other officer conducted the shattered remains of the army back to their own country.

The Dahomans are complaisant enough to approve all the actions of their king. Indeed, the well known maxim, *The king can do no wrong*, seems carried to its fullest extent in this country. I asked a Dahoman, on the eve of a battle, if he were not afraid of finding the enemy too strong. " I think of my king," said he, " and then I dare engage five of the enemy myself." This man, whose name was Dakou, was in my service at the time, and I said, " I am anxious for your safety ; I wish you may escape the dangers of the day." " It is of little consequence," replied Dakou ; " my head belongs to the king, not to myself. If he pleases to send for it I am ready to resign it ; or if it be shot through in battle it makes no difference to me ; I am satisfied, so that it be in the service of my king." It happened afterwards that Dakou incurred the king's displeasure, without any cause ; but, instead of demanding his head, his majesty was so merciful as to sell the whole person to a European slave-merchant.

When a Dahoman commits, or, which is the

same thing, is accused of, a crime, he is condemned to death or slavery; his effects are forfeited to the king; all his relations, friends, and domestics are seized; and when some have been sacrificed to the royal thirst of blood, the others are sold for the benefit of the royal treasury. There is not an individual in this sovereign's dominions who has not lost some near relation by his orders; yet they all attribute such misfortunes to the indiscretion of the sufferers, and adhere to the maxim, that whatever the king does is right.

There is, however, a people in this part of Africa who are of a different opinion. To the north-east of Dahomy lies a fertile and extensive country, inhabited by the great and warlike nation, called Hioes. Here, when the conduct of the sovereign has given just offence to his people, they send a deputation, to represent to him that the burden of government has been so fatiguing, that it is time for him to retire from its cares, and take a little repose. The monarch thanks his people for their attention to his ease; retires to his apartment, as if to sleep, and orders his women to strangle him. This ceremony being performed, his son quietly succeeds him, upon the same terms, of holding the government no longer than his conduct shall meet the approbation of his subjects.

## CHAPTER XXII.

## JOURNEY TO ABOMEY.

**I** ANCHORED in the road of Whydah, and proceeded to the town of Griwhee, which is the capital of the province, and the residence of the viceroy. It is situated about three miles from the sea, on a sandy plain, and is a large straggling town, containing about 8,000 inhabitants. The English, French, and Portuguese, had each a fort here, with several commodious factories for carrying on the slave trade; slaves being a sort of merchandise with which, as may have been observed, the king of Dahomy's subjects supply him in abundance.

As it was my purpose to pay my respects to Bossa Ahádee, I applied to the Yavoogah\*, or Viceroy of Whydah, for the necessary attendants; and was furnished by him with an interpreter, six hammock-men, ten porters, and a captain of the gang, who was responsible for the conduct of the others. My own servants, and a few others who attended upon the captain, made our number thirty. We were all well armed. The porters having received their several loads, I got into my hammock, for in a hammock I now submitted to travel, and began my journey from Griwhee at six o'clock in the morning.

\* Captain of white men; yavou, in the Dahoman language, signifying white men, and gah, captain.

The hammock is a sheet, commonly of cotton, but sometimes of silk, or broad cloth, about nine feet long, and six or seven broad. It is slung at each end with several small cords, which draw it up like a purse, and to each end is fastened a noose, in which is placed the pole. The traveller sits, or lies in the hammock, as he pleases, and the pole is carried on the heads of two negroes, having a small roll of linen between the head and the hammock. A thin cloth is thrown over the pole, which serves as an awning to the traveller.

On passing through the market-place of Griwhee I found a great number of people collected there; and observing some large umbrellas among them, I concluded that the viceroy and his officers were of the party. I understood that they were assembled to witness the execution of a female criminal; and the viceroy did me the honour to send me an invitation to be present at the spectacle.

I found the woman kneeling in the midst of the circle, with the stake on which her head was to be fixed lying by her. This she had been compelled to carry hither from Abomey, the capital of the kingdom.

While I was conversing with the viceroy, a little girl, ignorant of what was passing, and desirous to know, made her way through the crowd. In the criminal she found her mother; and not having seen her since her return from Abomey, she ran to her with joy. The woman embraced her daughter, and then said, "Go, my child; this is not a place for thee." The girl was immediately conveyed away; and the viceroy proceeded to pass sentence on the mother, which my arrival had

interrupted. She heard it with seeming indifference, picking her teeth with a straw, which she took from the ground. The viceroy then gave a charge of submission and good behaviour to the spectators; and, when the exhortation was ended, one of the executioners gave the delinquent a blow on the back of the head with a bludgeon, which felled her to the ground; and another severed the head from the body with a cutlass. The head was fixed upon a pole, and set up in the market-place; and the body was carried without the town, and left to be devoured by beasts of prey.

The woman was one of those who kept little shops in the market. Some trifling article had been stolen from her; and, according to the custom of the country, she had taken a burning stick out of the fire, and waving it over her head, had exclaimed, "Whoever has taken my property, if they do not return it, I wish they may die, and be extinguished like this stick." In performing this ceremony, a spark had fallen on the dry thatch of a neighbouring hut, which had taken fire, and set fire to the market-place.

After witnessing this scene, I resumed my journey, passing over a level country, cultivated, and interspersed with clumps and groves of lofty and luxuriant trees. In an hour and a half we reached Xavier, the ancient capital of Whydah. The site of the house of the kings of Whydah is yet discernible by the trench that surrounds it; but the place is overgrown with lofty trees. Xavier is surrounded by plantations of yams and potatoes, which find a ready market at Griwee.

Previous to the conquest of Whydah by the Dahomans, in the year 1727, this country was ex-

tremely fertile and full of inhabitants. The last king of Whydah gave to an English captain, in 1722, fifty six pounds weight of gold dust, for having destroyed an English pirate who infested the coast. This contradicts one half of the Dutch merchant's information respecting gold, and confirms the other ; they *had* gold, but they did not value it.

We did not halt at Xavier ; the hammock-men choosing to trot on at their usual rate of five miles an hour, relieving each other occasionally. In two hours we reached Toree, where we stopped for rest and refreshment. I intended to amuse myself with strolling about the town alone ; but I found myself followed by my captain. On my telling him that I did not require his attendance, he said that the Torees were a strange people, and had bad customs ; and as he was to answer with his head for my safety, he would not trust me alone among a people who made a practice of eating men. I had some doubts of their being likely to eat me.

Toree is a small town separated from the province of Whydah by a deep and rapid river, which we crossed on a bridge formed by piles driven in at proper distances, and covered with faggots and hurdles. The banks were clothed with stately trees and close underwood, which afforded shelter to numerous elephants. When the invading Dahomans appeared on the northern bank of this river, the men of Whydah, instead of disputing their passage themselves, sent the snake to oppose them ; and this, their deity, failing to accomplish the purpose, they deemed all resistance vain, and

fled before their conquerors. Their faith remained unshaken, and the remnant of them who escaped the sword of Trudo were very grateful for his allowing them to continue to worship the snake.

From Toree we proceeded to a small town called Azoway, where we arrived in two hours. The road was good ; but there were neither plantations nor dwellings between the two places ; and the country being covered with thick woods, and overgrown with grass that grew higher than our heads, the free circulation of the air was prevented, and the mid-day heat was insupportable. At Azoway I cheerfully consented to the proposal of my hammock bearers to have my hammock suspended under the shade of a spreading tree, while they bathed in an adjoining river. This refreshed them exceedingly, and we proceeded to Ardra, which we reached in two hours.

Ardra is pleasantly situated on a gently-rising eminence of gravelly soil, and is environed by a prodigious number of palm trees. It is not the town of that name once the capital of a powerful kingdom.

At Ardra I was conducted to apartments in a house appropriated to the accommodation of white men on their journey between the coast and the capital, and was presented by the man who had the care of it with a jar of cool water, and a cup of the beer called *pitto*. Here my retinue, having deposited my baggage in my apartment, and suspended my hammock for my repose, left me, and went to the quarters provided for them. My retirement was not invaded by any of the inhabitants of the town ; and I passed the night in perfect security, without even a bolt upon the door. My

sleep, however, was interrupted by the incessant howling of the jackals, which, as if they had been its regular police, continued prowling through the town during the whole night, uttering their abominable cries.

Early the next morning we continued our journey, and after travelling over a very agreeable country, in which we passed through two villages, we stopped to breakfast at an inconsiderable town called Havee. We then proceeded to Whybow, where we arrived about ten o'clock. Here I was hospitably received by the governor of the town, who had been an officer in the guards. Jabrakou, for that was his name, provided an excellent dinner for me, and liberally entertained my whole retinue.

Jabrakou was a keen sportsman. He shewed me his larder, which was well stored with buffalo, wild hog, and venison of different sorts. Of all these he pressed me to take a quantity sufficient for the remainder of my journey; and though I declined this favour, as I carried with me provisions of my own; he insisted upon my taking the couple of guinea fowls he had intended for my supper, if I had passed the night at his house. I could not prevail upon the governor to accept the smallest present for my entertainment, till I had promised to pass a few days with him, and join his hunting party on my return.

I left Whybow in the evening, and after travelling an hour and a half I reached Appoy, where I was lodged in a house provided, by the king's order, for the accommodation of white people. I was now to enter the Great Wood, through which



the path was so narrow, crooked, and bad, that it was impossible to be carried in a hammock.

At three o'clock in the morning on the third day of our journey from Griwhee, we entered the wood, with the advantages of a bright moon, and a serene sky. The captain placed some of his men in the front, and others in the rear, with loaded muskets, to defend us from the attacks of wild beasts, with which this dreary wood abounds: and two of the hammock bearers carried lanthorns with lighted candles. The whole party continued singing, shouting, and bellowing to terrify these animals; and this, with the sound of trumpets, the firing of muskets, the chattering of monkies, the squalling of parrots, the roaring of lions, and the rustling and crashing of elephants among the underwood, made the most extraordinary clamour that can be conceived.

After a fatiguing march of five hours, we arrived at Agrimee, a small town at the opposite extremity of the wood, where we stopped to breakfast. From hence we proceeded to Calmina, a large town, containing about 15,000 inhabitants, which we reached in two hours. The king frequently resides here. The several buildings that compose his residence are inclosed within a high mud wall which forms a square. I measured one side of this, and found it nearly 1,700 paces, or about a mile in length. In the centre is a gateway and large guard-house, on the roof of which was exposed to view a great number of the skulls of prisoners taken in war.

The title of the second minister of the king of Dahomy is Mayhou. He is master of the ceremonies; he superintends the public festivals at court,

has the care of all strangers who visit the king, is a judge in criminal cases, and reports every circumstance that passes to his master. At Calmina I was conducted to apartments in the house of this officer; and a messenger was sent by him with compliments of congratulation on my safe arrival at that place; and desiring to be informed when I purposed to enter Abomey, and whether I would choose to be received in state by the great officers of the court. On enquiry, I found this reception consisted of the following ceremonial. The prime minister and other great men come out of the town on horseback, with numerous armed attendants, and meet the stranger at the distance of about half a mile, when the soldiers perform their military exercise, and fire a few rounds of musquetry. The great men then alight, and receive the stranger under the shade of large umbrellas; present him first with a tumbler of cool water, and afterwards with a small glass of spirits which is drank to the king's health; they then proceed on foot to accompany him into the town. I declined this honour on account of being fatigued; an old lady belonging to the mayhou's house provided an excellent dinner for me, which was very acceptable, as my porters did not arrive till late, owing to their fatigue in crossing the wood.

When a new governor arrives at one of the European forts, the king dispatches one of his half-heads, messengers so called from having one half of their heads shaven, carrying his gold-headed cane, which indicates that he is sent by his order. The messenger is introduced to the governor, in great state; by the yavoogah, who receives from him the cane of his master, and draws it from its

case. At sight of the royal cane all the black men present fall flat upon their faces, and cover their heads with dust. The yavoogah then presents the cane to the European governor, and delivers the message, which usually consists of the king's compliments, and wishes to see the governor as soon as possible. The same ceremony takes place annually at the approach of the customs.

When the governor arrives within six or eight miles of the capital, he is met by a company of thirty or forty dwarfs, from three feet to three feet and a half high, covered with the skins of large monkeys, with enormous tails hanging down behind. The captain of this extraordinary troop, who is of the same height, and clad in the same manner, advances with them, all gamboling and performing tricks of real monkeys, till he reaches the governor, when, having presented the compliments of the king, and a glass of wine or brandy to be drunk to his health, the pretended monkeys gambol back, and the governor proceeds on his way.

In about half an hour the stranger is met by a troop of eunuchs dressed like women, with a captain at their head, who accosts him with as much gravity and humility as the monkey corps had shewn of gaiety; and other compliments are delivered from the king, and another glass of wine or brandy is drank to his health.

Arrived near the town, the governor is met by a third company, more numerous than the others, composed of the king's guards. These keep guard without the wall of the palace, and are fine, tall, robust men, with caps of elephant's skin, from which the tail of the elephant, with all its hairs,

hangs down behind; the cases for their charges of powder are made of fourteen or fifteen strings of human teeth set close together. The ceremony of drinking the king's health is again repeated; and having made the tour of the palace walls in his hammock, amidst singing, shouting, and firing of muskets, the governor is conducted by the mayhou to the house prepared for him.

Each governor, whenever he visits the king of Dahomy, carries with him a present, consisting of a piece of rich silk for a dress, and a variety of other articles, amounting in the whole to the value of more than fifty pounds: but the monarch takes especial care to make these gentlemen understand that he has no interested motive for requesting their attendance, and he returns more than an equivalent. He defrays the expence of their journey, entertains them liberally, and presents each with a young female slave, under the denomination of a washerwoman, and at least one fine cotton cloth for a counterpane.

I left Calmina at five o'clock in the evening, and arrived at Abomey at seven. The road between these two places is very fine; the country is cleared of trees, and in a high state of cultivation. The whole distance from Griwhée, which I had travelled in three days, may be about ninety miles.

On my arrival at the gate of Abomey I was saluted with fifteen guns, and conducted to the apartments in the mayhou's house that were appropriated to the use of white men. This officer's steward waited upon me with his master's compliments, accompanied by a jar of cool water, some pitto, and some fowls; and the mayhou himself appeared soon after with the king's compliments,

which were followed by some sheep, some fowls, two baskets of flour, two jars of pitto, a calabash of palm oil, another of salt, and a flask of brandy.

I must here do the king of Dahomy the justice to acknowledge that, however he may gratify his fancy by cutting off the heads of his subjects, or replenish his treasury by the sale of their persons, he has always treated Europeans with becoming kindness and respect. How far their forts may have contributed to the complaisance of this monarch, I will not take upon me to decide.

The court of Dahomy was now engaged in the celebration of a grand festival, which continues several weeks, and is called the "annual customs." During this time, the king "waters the graves of his ancestors with blood." All the governors of provinces and towns; all the great men of the kingdom; and, indeed, all men, unless prevented by sickness, attend upon this occasion, and each brings a present to the king according to his circumstances. Every one endeavours to make his present as acceptable as he can; for, if it were thought deficient, he would be reprimanded, if not punished. The young men who want wives bring the savings of their industry, if they amount to 20,000 cowries, the value of £2. 10s., which they lay at the king's gate; and, prostrating themselves in the dust, they humbly supplicate his majesty to grant them wives. For, it must be observed that this sovereign retains within the inclosure of his house a great number of women for the purpose of exchanging them for the cowries of his subjects. Each must take the female assigned him, be she old or young, handsome or disgusting; and it has happened that the king's wives, who are the

agents in this affair, have, in malicious sport, given a man his own mother. In this case he is obliged to take her home and maintain her, and wait till he have amassed a sufficient number of cowries to purchase again.

In Dahomy all children belong to the king. They are taken from their mothers at an early age, and distributed in villages remote from the places of their nativity, where they remain at the disposal of the king, with little chance of their being seen, or at least recognised by their parents afterwards. Hence each individual is detached from his family, and knows but one principle, which is obedience to his sovereign.

There are few instances of personal violence in this country ; for, as all are slaves of the king, every one is cautious not to hurt his fellow slave, lest he should incur the displeasure of their common master. In quarrels they rarely proceed to blows ; the meanest of the king's slaves having access to him at the annual customs, and an opportunity of applying in private for the redress of injuries.

Though in the king's presence the first minister crawls on the ground like the lowest subject, beyond the precincts of the palace the ministers enjoy great privileges. It is true they may not wear sandals, and some other ornaments which are peculiar to royalty ; but they sit on high stools, ride on horseback, are carried in hammocks, wear silk, have umbrellas, flags, drums, and trumpets, maintain a numerous retinue, and are saluted with bended knees and clapping of hands. On their entrance at the king's gate, the garment of silk is exchanged for a tunic and a pair of drawers

of clean cotton ; the necessary ceremonies rendering this garb unfit to be worn a second time till it be washed. The neck is adorned with a valuable string of coral, the wrists with broad silver bracelets ; at the side hangs a silver-hilted sword, and the hand grasps an ivory club. Thus equipped, one of the ministers is always in waiting at the gate of the palace, and in this dress only may he enter, though not till the permission of the monarch be signified by one of his women.

The only privilege ministers enjoy in public is to lie prostrate nearest to the king's person, and to be the medium of communication between him and his inferior subjects. The king's sons have no rank. They salute the ministers with kneeling and clapping of hands ; the ministers, however, hasten to take them by the hand, and raise them from so humble an attitude.

The king of Dahomy has a nominal mother, who is called his big mother. High rank and great respect are annexed to this title.

If the king honour a subject so far as to present him with brandy, or other strong liquor, with his own hand, the man so distinguished lies on his back, and receives the honour and the liquor from a bottle which the sovereign holds to his mouth. In this attitude he must drink, and drink till the king withdraw his hand, which, if he be inclined to make sport, does not happen till the bottle be empty.

Within the walls of the different royal palaces are not fewer than between three and four thousand women, several hundreds of whom are trained to arms, under a female general and subordinate officers, appointed by the king. These

warriors perform the military evolutions with as much regularity and dexterity as the male soldiers, and have their large umbrellas, flags, and musical instruments.

Abomey may contain about 24,000 inhabitants. It is built without any regularity. A number of small huts for the women, and one or two sheds, or piazzas, for the master, inclosed within a high mud wall, form the accommodations for each family. The town is supplied with water from a rivulet nearly two miles distant, and a number of women are employed in fetching it in earthen pots, and carrying it round the town for sale.

Abomey is surrounded by a wide and deep ditch, but has no wall or breast-work. Over the ditch are four wooden bridges, with a guard-house, in which soldiers are stationed, at each. The king has two houses within the town, and one without the gates. They are about the same dimensions as that at Calmina, and, like that, are surrounded by a mud wall about twenty feet high. In passing the guard-house of one of these the day after my arrival at Abomey, I observed a great number of human skulls, fixed on small stakes on the roof. On each side of the door was a pile of at least fifty human heads, and opposite to the door was a small stage, on which lay about two dozen more.

On my return I received a message from the king, desiring to see me the next morning. I sent my presents, which were, a chamber organ, and a sedan chair covered with red morocco leather, and lined with white silk, early in the morning, and at ten o'clock, attended by my interpreter, I proceeded to the habitation of the king.



## CHAPTER XXIII.

## COURT AND CUSTOMS OF DAHOMY.

**I** WAS received by Mayhou at the door of the king of Dahomy's house. On each side of it was a human head, recently cut off, lying with the face downwards, and the bloody end of the neck towards the entrance. In the guard-house were about forty women; each armed with a musket and a cutlass; and about twenty eunuchs, holding in their hands bright rods of iron. One of these last went to announce my arrival. Mayhou, walking cautiously forward, conducted me through a court, to an opposite door, near to which lay two more heads. Here he prostrated himself and kissed the ground. The door was opened by a female, and we entered a second court, in which we were met by the first minister, who is styled Tamegah, and whose head is the only one in his master's dominions that he may not take off at his pleasure. Tamegah was accompanied by the next officer in rank to Mayhou; and these three officers frequently knelt down and kissed the ground, pronouncing aloud some of the king's titles, as we crossed the second court: in this were ranged six human heads.

The courts were of the common soil of the country. In each court was a shed, or piazza, running along one or two of the sides, formed by rafters of bamboo laid on the wall, which was about twenty feet high, and sloping down to the

height of eight or ten feet, next to the court. The front of the shed was left open, and supported by posts; the breadth was about twelve or fourteen feet; the roof was covered with thatch; the ground was elevated a few inches by a bed of hard clayey mortar; and the wall was in some places plastered with a sort of pipe-clay.

From the second court we passed through a door into a third, where the king was seated on a chair covered with crimson velvet, ornamented with gold fringe, and placed under the shade of a piazza which occupied one side of the court. He wore a gold-laced hat, with a plume of ostrich feathers; a crimson silk damask robe, wrapped loosely about him; yellow slippers, and no stockings. He was smoking tobacco, whilst one woman, on her knees, presented a gold cup for him to spit in, and several others were employed in fanning him, and in chasing away the flies with whisks.

When the door which led into this court was opened, Tamegah and his two companions fell down, kissed the ground repeatedly, rubbed their foreheads in the dust, and approached the king crawling on their hands and knees, frequently throwing dust upon their heads with both hands: and had the dust been made mud by preceding rain, the ceremony would have been the same.

Having bowed to the king, I was directed to a chair at a few yards distance from him; and after we had drank each other's health in a small glass of brandy, he enquired after the health of his brother, king George of England. We conversed by means of Mayhou and my interpreter; the former always kissing the ground before he pre-

sumed to repeat the king's words to my servant. This custom is observed in every part of the country, as well as in the royal presence, when any person has occasion to repeat the words of the king.

The king was much pleased with the tunes of the organ, but delighted beyond measure with the sedan chair. At his desire I went into it, and was carried about the court by his hammock bearers till they were tolerably expert chairmen. His majesty then seated himself in it, and was carried, amidst the acclamations of his ministers and his women, till, at length, in the exultation of his heart, he sent for some eunuchs, and was carried by them to his private apartments, to display his acquisition to the rest of his ladies.

The next day I received an invitation to be a spectator of some diversions at the king's gate. On my arrival I found the tamegah, mayhou, yavoogah, agaow, and jahou, seated on their stools of office, which were placed on leopard's skins. The diversions consisted of the comic distortions, and antic dances of a multitude of people, first men, and then women. If a man by chance get a fall in one of these dances, it is considered as a bad omen, and he is immediately conveyed from the crowd, and his head is struck off; the dance going on as if nothing had happened. Seven men, and seven horses, fastened to tall posts, were in view of the dancers, and the former seemed to enjoy the spectacle, though their own heads, and those of their horses, were to be cut off for the amusement of the next day but one.

When I quitted this scene, I had not proceeded far before I was annoyed by an intolerable stench;

and, on looking round, I perceived the heads of thirty-six men and thirty-two horses, which had been cut off on the two preceding days of rejoicing, in token of the grandeur of the king, and agreeable to custom immemorial.

I hope that, by this time, the reader of my travels is reconciled to the custom of cutting off heads, and views it with calm indifference. And I am the more encouraged in this hope by having heard my father say that human heads were formerly placed on Temple Bar, and that the people in London passed under them, and in view of them, without any concern.

The next morning I went to the gate of the king's house, to see a procession of his women, seven hundred of whom came out of the gate, neatly dressed, and danced on the parade before the guard-house; a number of men being drawn up at a distance to prevent the intrusion of the populace. On the women retiring, the commander of the forces advanced with about 5,000 soldiers, who went through the various evolutions of their exercise, and concluded with a general dance and their war song.

The following morning I received a message from the king, desiring me to attend him. I found him sitting under one of the sheds; and I was placed in a chair in the open court, where some slaves held a large umbrella over me. At a little distance sat twelve Moorish merchants, who travel to the court of Dahomy every year, it is said from the north of Africa. They are much respected, and an elephant is annually killed to feast them.

Soon after I was seated, the music began to

play. This consisted of trumpets, flutes, bells, and a multitude of drums of different sizes. Crowds succeeded each other in dancing till they were tired. A table was spread for me, at which I dined. The dinner was dressed by cooks trained at the European forts ; the plates and dishes were of pewter or earthenware. Adahoonzoo, the king's eldest son, squatted behind me, and condescended to receive a roasted fowl from my hand. The Moors dined at another table. The king never eats in public. It would be criminal to suppose that he ever eats, or that he is so much like other mortals as to need the refreshment of sleep.

When the repast was over, the music was renewed, and the king went out on the parade before his house, followed by a guard of twenty-four women, armed with blunderbuses. His majesty danced some time, to convince his subjects of his health and activity ; and they welcomed this conviction with inexpressible joy, which they endeavoured to manifest by shouts and acclamations. Three hundred of the king's wives then entered, bearing cowries in brass pans, which they distributed among the musicians.

The great men have from one to four hundred wives each, and those in humble stations from six to twenty ; but it must be understood that these are not all wives, in our acceptation of the word ; the greater number might be termed servants, and even labourers. The king's women have separate huts within the palace walls.

On the ensuing morning, when I arrived at the king's gate, I found each side of it graced with three human heads, which had been cut off the night before to do honour to this day's spectacle.

In the centre of the parade was placed a tent about fifty feet high, and forty in diameter, and shaped like a sugar-loaf. This did not reach the ground ; but was surrounded by a circular range of small iron rails, through which the king could have a view of what was passing around him. The monarch seated himself in this tent, and after a dance by a droll sort of harlequin, a grand procession began.

First marched, two abreast, a hundred and twenty of the king's guard, carrying blunderbusses : next, fifteen of the king's daughters, fine handsome young women, attended by fifty female slaves. After these came, one by one, seven hundred and thirty of the king's wives, bearing provisions and liquors for a royal banquet, which was to be spread in the market-place. These were followed by a guard of ninety women, under arms, with drums beating. Six troops then advanced, consisting of seventy women each, with each a distinguished favourite, marching under a large umbrella, at their head. The leader of the first troop was too sacred to be seen ; for, in addition to the umbrella, she was encompassed by long targets covered with red and blue taffeta, and was completely hidden. In the last troop were two umbrellas and four favourites, very beautiful women, who were said to rank higher in the king's esteem than any, except the invisible lady above mentioned. All these women entertained the king with songs and dances as they passed ; and the favourites went into the tent, and received considerable presents of cowries from him. These women were succeeded by ten bands of his younger

children, from about seven to fifteen years of age ; each band containing fifteen, and consisting of such as were nearly of the same size. Seven troops, of fifty women each, and each troop preceded by two British flags, closed the procession.

No monarch I had ever seen before exhibited at one time 1,500 wives, and 165 children.

While the ladies were preparing the entertainment in the market-place, the eunuchs amused their master by enumerating his titles, and proclaiming his great actions and magnificence ; and when all was understood to be ready, the king disappeared, and a second procession took place. First went two coaches, each drawn by twelve men ; then the sedan chair ; then three hammocks, screened from the sun by large sumptuous umbrellas, of gold and silver-tissue, and covered with canopies of the same. Each of these was surrounded by a very strong guard, and the king was in one of them ; but whether in coach, chair, or hammock, it would have been presumptuous, and even criminal to guess. My hammock followed, and then the hammocks of the five great officers of state, the tamegah, mayhou, yavoogah, agaow, and jahou, accompanied by an immense crowd of attendants and spectators. We entered the market-place under five gibbets, each having a man, who had been murdered the night before for the occasion, hanging by the ancles.

A large space was inclosed by cloth extended upon rails, with a raised inclosure of finer cloth at one end for the king. No persons were admitted within the railing but the five great officers with their attendants, and myself and my servants. I

dined alone at a table which would have served a hundred persons ; and when I had dined, the tamegah, mayhou, yavougah, agaow, and jahou, attacked the remainder of the viands. The crowd without was so well supplied with provisions and brandy, that every one was satisfied.

On the next court festival, only four human heads ornamented the door of the royal habitation. The dances and procession were nearly the same as on the former occasion, but the dresses of the women were more gay and costly. The variety and abundance of rich silks, silver bracelets, and coral beads, surprised me. A troop of forty women appeared in silver helmets. The king's treasury was emptied, and its contents displayed to the public, on this occasion, almost every woman carrying something. Some carried fine swords ; others guns, ornamented with silver ; others little silver saints, purchased no doubt of the Portuguese ; others a lamp, or a candlestick ; above a hundred carried canes with gold or silver tops.

In the evening, when I waited upon the king, a female dwarf danced before him. She seemed about thirty years of age, was only two feet seven inches in height, and was tolerably well shaped.

During this day's amusement we were visited by an harmattan, some of the most striking phenomena of which I shall describe.

The coast of Africa, from Cape Lopez in 1° south, to Cape Verd in 15° north, is subject during the months of December, January, and February to a wind called the harmattan. At Gabon it blows from the north-north-east, on the Gold Coast from the north-east, and at the Isles de Los,



a little to the northward of Sierra Leone, from the east-south-east. It generally continues one or two days ; sometimes five or six, and it has been known to last fifteen. There are frequent returns of it in the season. The harmattan is accompanied by a fog or haze, through which the sun appears for a few hours during the middle of the day, of a pale red colour; and divested of its beams. No dew is perceived during the continuance of this wind, and there is no appearance of moisture in the atmosphere.

Salt of tartar, dissolved in water, so as to run upon a tile, becomes perfectly dry in a few hours, even in the night. The covers of books, though shut up in a trunk and lying among clothes, bend back as if they had been exposed to the fire. The pannels of doors and shutters split ; the joints of a well laid floor, of seasoned wood, open wide ; veneered work flies to pieces ; and if casks, containing wine or other liquors, be not frequently wetted on the outside, they generally lose their contents.

All tender plants are destroyed by the harmattan. The grass withers, and becomes dry like hay ; the branches of the orange, lemon, and lime trees droop ; the fruit grows yellow and dry before it has attained half its usual size ; the leaves are flaccid, and, if the wind last ten or twelve days, they may be rubbed to powder between the fingers.

During the harmattan, the thermometer is commonly ten or twelve degrees below the usual standard. The natives complain of cold, which, though it be grateful to a European, occasions chaps in the lips and nose. If the wind continue

five or six days, the scarf skin peels from the hands and face, and, if it last a few days longer, from the rest of the body.

The effects of this parching wind are more salutary to the human species than to the vegetable creation : it stops the progress of epidemical diseases, and restores to health persons weakened by fevers, or violent evacuations.

While I remained at Abomey, a part of one of the king's houses took fire. As soon as the confusion occasioned by this accident was over, I waited upon the king as a mark of respect. Twenty heads, at least, lay scattered about ; and the king was much irritated against his women, who were accusing each other of carelessness. It probably was not easy to ascertain how the accident happened ; and, the king's anger subsiding, he contented himself with the punishments he had already inflicted, and with selling nineteen of those persons, who might possibly have occasioned the fire, to a European slave merchant who happened to be at Abomey.

Negro slavery has been defended by its advocates on the principle of lenity ; death or captivity being, as these gentlemen say, the only alternative. But if this question were referred to a native of Dahomy, I imagine he had rather his head lay at the feet of the sovereign to whom he fancies it belongs, and by whose permission he has hitherto worn it, than be transported to a distant land, and groan and smart under a life of labour.

On the last day of the customs, the king appears upon a stage about a hundred feet long and forty broad, which is erected near the gate of his palace : the wall of the palace forming the boundary behind, and the front and sides being fenced with

railing. The floor and rails are covered with carpets and country cloths, and the rails are ornamented with a multitude of flags and large umbrellas, some of which are of gold or silver tissue. A fence of thorns is placed at a little distance to keep off the populace. On this stage are piled heaps of cowries, strung in bunches of 2,000 each, rich silks, European, Indian, and Dahoman cloths, strings of coral, Brazil tobacco, pipes, bottles of liquor, and a variety of other articles. Each officer is allowed to choose a cloth; the highest first, and every other following according to his rank: sometimes also a string of coral is presented to each. The king then throws a bunch of cowries among the crowd below; all his officers and women follow his example; and a general scramble ensues, to the great amusement of this royal personage. The people come prepared for this sport, being intirely naked, except a strong bag for the reception of the prizes, which is fastened round the waist, and hangs down before. A piece of cloth or silk is generally an object of competition; but as no weapons are allowed, the struggle is seldom fatal. Finally, are thrown over, a man, or sometimes ten or twelve men, tied neck and heels, in baskets, an alligator muzzled, and a pair of pigeons with their wings clipped. The heads of the victims are the grand prizes, and the possessor of each is rewarded by a handsome present. It is said that the carcasses of the human victims are almost wholly devoured by the assembled populace, each person striving to get a morsel.

But, in the midst of these festivities, an event happened that possibly Bossa Ahádee had not thought of—he died. I saw him before his death

in his private apartment, a detached circular room, about eighteen feet in diameter, with mud walls, whitened within, and a thatched conical roof. The floor was of clay, and covered with a carpet. The furniture was of European manufacture, and consisted of a bedstead with checked curtains, a mattress, a chest, a small table, and two or three chairs. The bedchamber of Ahádee was separated from the court in which it stood by a wall between four and five feet high, ornamented at top with human jaw-bones; and the little area within the wall was paved with the skulls of neighbouring kings and eminent persons, who had been taken prisoners in his various wars, to afford his majesty the triumph of literally walking on the heads of his enemies.

The moment the king expired, a horrid scene, customary on such an occasion, commenced in the palace. The wives of the deceased monarch began by breaking and destroying the furniture, the gold and silver ornaments and utensils; in a word, every thing of value that belonged to themselves, or had belonged to him, and ended by murdering each other.

The usual successor of the king of Dahomy is the first of his sons born after his own accession to the royal dignity; but the tamegah and the mayhou have a right to alter the succession in favour of any other son whom they may think more deserving. In the present instance these officers named Adahoonzoo, the heir apparent; and they lost no time in so doing, in order to end the carnage in the palace, which always continues till the new king put a stop to it.

Adahoonzoo being declared king, hastened to

the palace gate, which he and his retinue broke down ; but, before he could enter, the women had destroyed a great part of the moveables and 285 of their own number. The sedan-chair remained entire, and Ahádee was interred in it. Those of his wives who had murdered each other were buried with him ; and it was said that six who were living accompanied him in the grave.

I was treated with great kindness by the new king ; but I had seen more than enough of the court of Dahomy, and I wished to proceed on my travels ; I therefore announced to him my intention of returning to Griwhee. Previous to my departure his majesty graciously presented me with a fat sheep, a beautiful female slave, a fine striped cotton cloth, manufactured by the Hioes, an anker of brandy, and 20,000 cowries, value 50 shillings.

The language spoken in Dahomy is that called by the Portuguese, *lingua geral*, or general language. It is also spoken by the Mahees, the Whydahs, and other neighbouring people.

The principal divinity of the Dahomans is an animal they call dabooay. It has nearly the form of a lizard, but is ten times as large, being about two feet in length ; it is gentle, and not afraid of man. One of these animals has a house near the European forts on the coast, where he is attended and fed by a number of women, under the superintendence of a grand fetish-man, or high priest, who is supposed to possess the power of appeasing the anger of the god, and of obtaining from him whatever the suppliants may desire, and who, of course receives the offerings made to him. No man is permitted to touch this divinity, nor any woman, save the initiated, on pain of death. The

white men are requested not to injure, or even to touch a dabooay, if one be seen in their house or their path, but to send for a fetish-woman to take charge of it. Frenchmen have, however, occasionally taken up a dabooay, and placed it in the hands of one of these its female servants, without being reprimanded; but no man should venture to kill one, unless he would be stoned to death.

The household deities are rude mis-shapen images, stuck with feathers, besmeared with palm oil, tinged with blood, or bedaubed with eggs. The market day, which is every fourth day, is a day of recreation.

There are singers by profession, who perform, for hours together, before the king. The songs are mostly extemporary, and have for their subjects the praises and exploits of the monarch; and the performers are rewarded on the spot according to the merit of their compositions. Besides these songs, the Dahoman bards, on solemn occasions, rehearse the whole history of their country, sitting at the king's gate. The recital occupies several days, during which they are attended by young men of the best memories, who learn their traditions, and are intended to transmit them to the following generation.

The common dress of the Dahomans consists of a pair of white or striped cotton drawers, and a square cotton cloth, about the size of a common counterpane. This is wrapped about the waist, and tied on the left side by two of the corners; the others hanging down, and sometimes trailing on the ground. Sixteen or eighteen yards of silk, or velvet, are required to make a cloth for a chief; and one of these garments, composed of twenty-

five English ells of crimson velvet, has been sent as a present to one of the kings upon the coast. The head is usually covered with a beaver, or felt hat, according to the rank of the wearer; the king, as well as some of his ministers, often wears a gold laced hat, with a feather. The upper part of the body and the arms remain uncovered, unless the person travel, or be employed, when the large cloth is laid aside, and the tunic without sleeves is worn. A club is usually carried in the hand: the ivory club of an officer of state is a very expensive ornament, on account of the great waste in making it; a large elephant's tooth being destroyed in the fabrication of this badge of dignity. Inferior chiefs carry a sort of blunt sabre, with a broad blade and wooden handle, serving rather for ornament than for offence.

Warriors wear what is called a grass-cloth, which is made of the skin of palm leaves, parted into small threads, and woven. They also wear a cartouch-box of their own manufacture, and a powder flask of calabash. Their many grotesque ornaments and amulets, with the uncouth devices painted on their faces and bodies, give them somewhat of a fiend-like appearance. Every Dahoman carries a pouch containing tobacco, a flint, a steel, and tinder, and one or two tobacco-pipes in a neat wooden case.

The dress of the women consists of a greater number of articles than that of the men; they make use of several cloths and handkerchiefs to cover different parts of the body. The neck, arms, and ancles, are adorned with beads and cowries; and rings of silver, or baser metal, encircle the fingers. The ears are pierced so as to

admit the little finger, and a coral bead of that size is placed in the aperture, if the lady can afford it ; if not, she is content with a piece of red sealing-wax, or polished oyster-shell. Young women seldom cover the bosom, and girls wear only a string of beads or shells round the waist.

The Dahomans make a perpendicular incision between the eyebrows ; the Whydahs cut their cheeks and foreheads, so as to leave scars resembling those of the small-pox ; the Ardras make an incision on each cheek, and turning up a part of the flesh towards the ears, suffer it to heal in that position ; the Mahees make three long oblique cuts on one cheek, and a cross on the other. Here I discovered a rational motive for what I had hitherto considered as a capricious ornament. The Dahomans are not distinguished in battle by red coats, nor the Whydahs by blue, nor the Mahees by white ; these national marks therefore enable each to distinguish a friend from an enemy, and were probably introduced in part, if not wholly, for that purpose.

The cotton cloths of the Dahomans are held in great estimation among themselves ; and are often purchased by the Europeans, for counterpanes, at a high price. Their grass-cloths, when not dyed, are the colour of nankeen, but something deeper ; they make neat mats of the same substance. They fabricate implements of husbandry, carpenter's tools, spears, cutlasses, and other weapons of iron ; and they have artificers in brass and silver, who make handles for cutlasses, bracelets, rings, and other ornaments, melting the metals in crucibles of their own making.



The dishes of the Dahomans are few, but excellent ; the principal is the black soup. It is made of either meat or fish, with a variety of mucilaginous vegetables, well seasoned with pepper and salt, and enriched with palm oil, and the seeds of the wild tamarind, after they have been consolidated into a mass by fermentation. Their bread is of maize or millet, boiled or baked, either with, or without, leaven. They make a very light, white fermented bread of calavanses, and a kind of flummery of fermented Indian corn.

A curious fruit is produced in Dahomy, resembling a small olive in every respect but the colour, which is of a dusky reddish hue, changing, at the end next the stalk to a pale yellow. The pulp is firm, and almost tasteless ; the stone is hard, like that of an olive. After having chewed one or more of these berries, a glass of vinegar will taste like sweet wine ; a lime will have the flavour of a very ripe China orange ; and the same change is produced on any other acids. Food, or liquor, not containing any acid, undergoes no change from the previous use of this berry. The natives describe it as the fruit of a large tree. A European has planted some of the berries ; the plants grew to the height of six or seven inches, and, in that infant state, they resembled the olive ; but they died in their passage to the West Indies.

I left Abomey on my return to Griwhee, and reached Agrimee on the borders of the great wood, where I slept a few hours. I rose early, in order to get through the wood before the sun was high, and I did not halt till I arrived at the house of my friend Jabrakou at Whybow. Here I passed the

remainder of this day and a part of the next ; but I obtained leave to depart without staying for a great buffalo hunt, for which he was preparing.

The following night I slept at Ardra, where my people received a visit from a leopard. My hammock was slung in an apartment adjoining the mayhou's house in that town, and the weather being very warm, my attendants chose to spread their mats under the long shed, and in the little court before it. All were asleep except the captain of the gang, who was smoking a pipe of tobacco ; when the animal leapt over the wall, passed the men who were sleeping in the court, and seizing my fat sheep, the present of the king, carried it off, though the wall was eight feet high. The captain saw the whole of the transaction, but had not time to get a shot at the thief.

The next day I reached Griwhee, and the day following I went on board a ship in Whydah road.

Whydah is in  $6^{\circ} 14'$  north latitude, and  $2^{\circ} 13'$  east longitude.

As some persons who may honour these my travels with a perusal may feel a degree of curiosity respecting the successor of Bossa Ahádee, I shall, before I quit the subject of Dahomy, recount such particulars of the reign of this monarch as have come to my knowledge.

Adahoonzoo, on his accession to the regal dignity, assumed the name of Ai-yaw-soo, or the Male Oyster ; for what reason is not known to Europeans ; certainly not because he possessed the inactivity of an oyster, for he soon found an opportunity of going to war. The remnant of the Whydahs who escaped from their country at the Dahoman conquest, established themselves in a small

marshy territory between Whydah and Popo. There were now two competitors for this sovereignty, one named Abavou, or the Swamp Dog, the other Eyee, or the Monkey. The people chose the Dog, and drove the other out of the country: this was a sufficient reason for Aiyawsoo to espouse the cause of the Monkey. His arms prevailed, and Abavou, seeing that resistance was unavailing, surrendered himself, to spare the blood of his countrymen. His head was sent to Aiyawsoo, and his adherents submitted.

A short time after, the king of Dahomy sent a messenger to a British gentleman at Whydah to acquaint him that he wished to see him. On his arrival at the palace, the king asked him if he had ever seen Abavou; and on his replying that he had not, "Then," said the king, "you shall see him now." The Englishman knew that Abavou had been dead a month, at least, and had no curiosity to see his remains; but he did not think it adviseable to oppose the will of the king. By his order, some of his women brought from an inner apartment, a wide, shallow, brass pan, containing a bundle much larger than a beehive, ornamented with two silk flags about the size of a pocket-handkerchief. The bundle was composed of several folds of cloth, the upper one of cotton, the under ones of silk, and when these were removed, Abavou's head was seen lying in a china bason. It was in perfect preservation, as dry as an Egyptian mummy, and the hair was nicely dressed. "That is the fellow," said the king, "who gave me so much trouble." "You have taken great care of him," said the gentleman. "Yes," said the king, "I am a warrior myself, and if I should

fall into the hands of my enemies, I should wish to be treated with that decency of which I have set the example."

Adahoonzoo afterwards defeated the Apees, and found in the houses of the king and chiefs many valuable European articles, such as silks, laced hats, walking canes, and ornaments of gold and silver: but nothing pleased him so much as a green decanter, shaped like a common bottle, but flattened, and having two cavities for the finger and thumb: the outside was ornamented with about a dozen heads, raised like medallions. Adahoonzoo boasted of this prize as the most valuable he had ever taken, and said that no white man had brought him such a rarity, though he paid liberally for every thing curious. An English trader had sold him a chased silver cup and cover weighing 226 ounces.

At the approaching customs, the white men from the coast found Adahoonzoo seated in his palace of Dahomy, amidst four hundred of his women, richly dressed. At a little distance were six women kneeling, with countenances in which despair was painted. The king had them placed before him, and, ordering a bundle to be brought, he untied it with his own hands, and presented its contents, which were five cutlasses, to five of his fat, overgrown women. The Europeans were seized with horror at the sight, but this was not the place to express their feelings: the king probably divined them, and condescended, in his own vindication, to relate the story of these unfortunate females.

"These women," said Adahoonzoo, "were brought from Apee by my army. I took them

home, placed them in my family, treated them as my wives; but, not contented with this, they made their escape to their own country, where, however, they found nothing but the earth and trees, for every thing else had been destroyed by my troops. They afterwards surrendered themselves to the king of Ardra; but he was too just to keep them, and has sent them back to me, to receive the reward of their ingratitude. This woman," continued he, putting his hand upon the head of one of them who had a child at her breast, "is a relation of the king of Ardra, but it is not that which saves her. No, her infant saves her for a while, but she must pass out at the same door as her companions."

In few words let me tell the rest. The Apee women were led to the usual place of sacrifice; the unpractised executioners performed the work of decapitation tardily; and the king, standing over, and instructing them said, "Not so—hold your cutlass thus—imagine you are chopping wood." During this horrible exhibition, the air was rent with the *strong names* of the monarch, and the shouts of the multitude.

In an expedition against Badagree Adahoonzoo was unsuccessful, and he would not suffer his singing men to allude to it in their songs, saying that this subject was too strong for him. He called together his officers, and while he watered his mother's grave, he made a public oration which lasted three hours. In the course of this he three times took up a portion of the earth, and as often swore by his mother that, if he did not make a conquest of the country, he were unworthy to be called her son, and the son of Ahádee.

Adahoonzoo performed his oath, and proved himself the worthy son of his father. Six thousand Badagree heads were sold to him by his soldiers ; the king and his officers danced round the palace several successive days ; a profusion of victuals and brandy were consumed in feasting ; the heads of the vanquished enemies were exhibited to the admiring multitude ; the air resounded with the *strong names* of the Male Oyster ; and the bards were permitted to sing on the subject.

The skulls of the Badagrees were applied to decorate the walls of the palace, but the workman having placed them too near each other, found he had not a sufficient number to complete the work : he therefore requested permission to take them down, and begin his task again. The king refused to lessen the grandeur of his work, and was at no loss for materials to complete it ; he ordered 127 heads, the number required, to be taken from his Badagree prisoners.

Do we shudder at this barbarity ? We do. Then let us reflect upon our own. The kings of Dahomy have slain their thousands ; the sovereigns of Europe their ten thousands. On one side, the wounded are killed, and their heads are carried home and displayed as tokens of victory ; on the other, where dead men's heads are of no value, numbers of wounded are left to groan and perish on the field. On one side, prisoners are sacrificed with the strokes of a sabre ; on the other, though humanity exert itself to save them, numbers sicken and die in unwholesome confinement.

After so much bloodshed, one commendable act may be recorded of Aiyawsoo. He ordered his subjects to clear all the paths, and gave to each

chief of a district a string measuring ten yards, which was to be the width of the roads. A spacious communication was thus opened between the towns and the capital, and between the capital and the beach. With incredible labour, a passage was cut through the wood between Agrimee and Appoy; the gullies were filled up, and the bridges of hurdles, thrown over the swamps, were widened. "Now," said the monarch, when all was completed, "if any one be desirous of paying me a visit, he shall not have it to say that briars or thorns impede his way."

The king of Dahomy, with all his conquests, continued to be tributary to the king of Hio; and this formidable neighbour sent every year to Calmina to receive the stipulated sum, and frequently made additional demands. On a supposition that some coral had been withheld, he sent a messenger to Adahoonzoo, to remind him that he held his dominions no longer than while he regularly paid his tribute, and that, when he neglected to do so, Dahomy belonged to Hio. At another time, when Adahoonzoo meditated an attack upon Ardra, the king of Hio sent him word that Ardra was Hio's calabash, and nobody should eat out of it but himself. If a white man happen to be at Calmina when the ambassadors of the king of Hio come to demand the tribute, great care is taken that he shall not speak to them. The troops of Hio are chiefly cavalry; they are said, in the whole, to amount to 100,000 men.

When the Hioes are going to war, the general spreads on the ground the thick tough hide of a buffalo; the soldiers are made to pass over it, and when their bare feet have worn it through, the

army is judged to be sufficiently strong. The Hioes take home no captives. The prisoners are tied to the tails of their horses, and they gallop with them till they are dead. What an idea must we form of the interior of Africa, when we are told that Hio is tributary to another state still more powerful; and that the king of Hio assembled an army that trod through two buffaloes' hides, yet did not succeed in his endeavour to throw off the yoke! Of this state nothing is known to Europeans but the name, which is said to be Tappah.

About this time, the king of Hio was desired by his ministers to rest from his labours, and take a little sleep; but this sovereign assumed a power his predecessors had not thought of. He assured his ministers that he stood in no need of repose, and had no inclination to sleep; and he convinced them of it by defeating an army they brought against him. Whether future kings of Hio will have the complaisance to sleep when requested to do so, time must determine.

I shall conclude the account of Dahomy with the abstract of a speech delivered by Adahoonzoo on the subject of the slave trade, and an anecdote on the same subject. The speech lasted two hours. The governor of the British fort at Whydah had read to him, in his native language, some of the pamphlets published in England for and against the slave trade; the king had listened with great attention, and, when the governor had ended, spoke as follows.

"I admire the reasoning of the white men; but, with all their sense, it does not appear to me that they have thoroughly studied the nature of the black. The same Great Being formed both; and



since he has distinguished them by opposite complexions, it is fair to conclude that there may be a great difference in their minds. There is likewise a great difference in the countries they inhabit. You Englishmen, for instance, as I have been informed, are surrounded by the ocean, and, by this situation, seem intended to hold a communication with the whole world, which you do by means of your ships. We Dahomans are placed in a country where we are hemmed in by a variety of nations, and we are obliged, by the sharpness of our swords, to defend ourselves from their attacks, and to punish them when they injure us. This produces continual wars; and your countrymen are mistaken when they say that we go to war for the purpose of selling them slaves.

“ In the name of my ancestors and myself, I aver, that no Dahoman ever made war merely for the sake of purchasing your merchandize. I have killed thousands without thinking of your market, and I shall kill many thousands more. When policy or justice requires that men be put to death, neither silk, nor coral, nor brandy, nor cowries, can be accepted for blood. If white men choose to remain at home, will black men cease to make war? I answer, No. And if there be no ships to receive the captives, what will become of them? I answer, They will be put to death. Perhaps you may ask, how will black men be furnished with guns and powder? I reply by another question. Had we not clubs, and bows and arrows, before we knew white men? Did you not see me make custom for Weebaigah, the third king of Dahomy? and did you not then observe that I carried a bow in my hand, and a quiver filled with arrows at my

back? With such weapons my brave ancestor fought, and conquered all his neighbours. God made war for all the world, and every kingdom, large or small, has practised it. Did Weebaigah sell slaves? No; his prisoners were all killed. What else could he have done with them? Was he to let them remain in his country to cut the throats of his subjects? Had he done so, the Dahoman name would have been long ago extinct, instead of being, as it is now, the terror of surrounding nations. We do sell to white men a part of our prisoners, and we have a right to do so. Are not all prisoners at the disposal of their captors: and are we to blame if we send delinquents to a far country? I have been told you do the same.

“If you want no more slaves, or if the artists who made the fine things with which you purchased them have died without teaching others to make more, tell us plainly; but do not frame laws for us, and dictate how we are to live.

“You have seen me kill many men at the customs, and you have seen delinquents from the provinces bound and sent up to me. I kill them, but do I never want to be paid for them? Some heads I order to be placed at my door, others to be strewed about the market-place, that people may stumble upon them when they little expect such a sight. This gives a grandeur to my customs, far beyond the display of the fine things that I buy. This makes my enemies fear me, and gives me such a name in the bush. Besides, if I should neglect this duty, would my ancestors suffer me to live? would they not trouble me day

and night, and say that I sent nobody to serve them? that I was only solicitous about my own name, and forgetful of them? White men are not acquainted with these circumstances; but I now tell you that you may hear, and know, and inform your countrymen, why customs are made, and will be made, as long as black men continue to possess their own country."

This harangue is a curious specimen of negro eloquence; but the situation of the speaker and that of the reporter must be considered. The one, a vender of slaves, very desirous of possessing, and very proud of displaying, the European articles that are given in exchange for them. The other, a dealer in slaves, who lives by his occupation; who, while he calls Adahoonzoo a "hellish monster" for sacrificing his captives, is silent on the cruelties practised by those who purchase them; who calls Dahomy an "unhappy country," while he acknowledges that the Dahomans triumph in the sanguinary exhibitions of their monarch; and who never alludes to the happiness enjoyed by negroes in the West Indies, where, when one be worn out by forced labour, as is constantly the case, the master comforts himself by observing, "He has lived a year, and paid his head;" that is the price he cost.

That wars would be undertaken if captives could not be sold, no person at all acquainted with the history of mankind can doubt; for, as Adahoonzoo too truly says, "every kingdom, large or small, has practised war;" but if an African monarch have now four incitements to war, that is to say, revenge, ambition, filial piety, and

the acquisition of European works of art ; it is fair to conclude that one fourth of the wars would cease, if the last motive no longer existed.

The anecdote is as follows, and needs no comment.

If a female slave have a child at her breast, the captains of European slave ships do not like to purchase her, as the space allotted to a female in one of these vessels is not sufficient to allow of an infant without its dirtying and annoying others. A Frenchman at Whydah was looking at a number of slaves on sale, and observed among them a woman about twenty-two years of age, who seemed overwhelmed with sorrow. Her breasts were rather pendant, yet full, which made him suspect that she had an infant. He repeatedly asked the Dahoman merchant, her owner, who persisted in saying that she had not ; and the woman, if questioned, durst not have returned an answer, on pain of death. Not convinced, the Frenchman pressed the end of her breast between his finger and thumb, and the milk that issued declared she was a nurse. The merchant now confessed that the woman had a child ; but added that this was no obstacle to the Frenchman's buying her, for that the child had been thrown to the wolves the night before. Shocked at such unheard-of barbarity, the Frenchman told the Dahoman that he would purchase the mother, on condition that he might have the child also. The child was soon produced ; the humane Frenchman placed it in the mother's arms ; and the poor forlorn creature, who knew not how to express her gratitude, took up the dust of the earth with her hand, and threw it on her forehead.

The Frenchman's feelings, as he returned to the fort, were enviable; yet mingled with horror at the idea of the wolves; and when he reached it, he asked his interpreter, whether what he had heard were true. Not only did this man assure him it was a fact; but he said it was the constant custom of the Dahoman merchants to throw sucking infants to the wolves.

Some time after, the Frenchman met with a similar adventure with another merchant, and he purchased both the mother and child, and kept them in the fort; but he found the crime repeated so often that his fortune was inadequate to the calls upon his humanity, and he abstained from seeing slaves on sale that he might not witness distress which he was unable to relieve.

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## CHAPTER XXIV.

AQUAPIM, ACCRA, ANNAMABOE. JOURNEY TO  
COOMASSIE. RECEPTION THERE.

**AQUAPIM** is an inland mountainous country, containing hills crowned with very large trees, and fertile vales abounding with the purest water. Its inhabitants are of the middle size, neat in their persons, firm in their opinions, and brave in the field. Their habitations are small and low, but remarkably clean. The country was the granary and garden of the neighbourhood, and contained seventeen towns and villages, sixteen of which

were situated on the summits of mountains ; when an Ashantee army, commanded by Apokoo, invaded the territory, burnt the towns and villages, and spread devastation around them.

The river Volta divides the Slave Coast from the Gold Coast, and above, it divides the countries of Aquapim and Aquamboe. It received its name from the Portuguese on account of its rapidity, and the tremendous breakers at its mouth. The Danes have a fort here, and another on the left bank, about six miles above.

Passing the Volta, and about seventy miles of coast beyond it, I arrived at Accra. The town is situated in latitude  $5^{\circ} 31'$  north, and longitude  $10'$  west, and has a picturesque appearance from the sea. White buildings first present themselves, beyond these an extensive plain studded with clumps of trees, and beyond this, high lands rising gradually from the plain. The English and Dutch have their respective forts at Accra, and their towns, inhabited by the natives, though separately built, are connected together. The Danish castle, called Christiansberg, is about three miles to the eastward, and is the principal settlement of that people on the Gold Coast. Accra, which extends about twenty-six miles in length, and from twelve to twenty in breadth, is the only country on this coast that has a free trade with the interior. It is much resorted to by the Ashantees. The Accras, instead of saying, "good night," say, "sleep till the lighting of the world." When they speak of a man who has imposed upon them, they say, "He turned the back of our heads into our mouths."

Accra was formerly a kingdom, but the Aquam-

boes, who lay behind it, made predatory excursions into this country, and at length drove the inhabitants from it, and took possession of it themselves. The king of Aquamboe was so despotic, that it was said, "There are only two sorts of men in Aquamboe; the king and his friends are one, and their slaves the other." It was also said that the king and his favourites possessed more gold and slaves, and furnished more to the Europeans, than all the neighbouring states taken together.

Of the slave trade enough has been said to give the reader an idea of this inhuman traffic; of the gold, something remains to be said.

In the year 1700 gold was brought to market in dust and in lumps. The dust was nearly as fine as flour, and freed from all extraneous substances; the lumps were of different weights, from that of a farthing to that of thirty guineas, though few of the latter were seen. The negroes said that in the country were found pieces of the weight of one and two hundred guineas. Great loss was sustained in melting the pieces of mountain gold, as they were intermixed with small stones. The negroes carefully concealed from the Europeans the knowledge of the mountains that produced the gold. These people were continually at war with each other; some states extending their dominions, and others being almost annihilated. In time of peace, when the passes were open, and merchants could travel in safety, they annually brought, to different parts of the Gold Coast, to the amount of about 230,000 pounds sterling of this fascinating metal; when the negroes were at war with each other, scarcely half so much.

Passing the several European settlements of

Berracoe, Winnebah, Apam, Tantomquerry, and Cormantine; at the distance of about seventy-three miles from Accra, I came to the British fort at Annamaboe, the most compact, and most regularly built, in the country. Before the invasion of the Ashantees, the town, which joins the fort, and is inhabited by natives, was supposed to contain 10,000 persons, some of whom were very opulent.

In 1806, the king of Ashantee, it must be owned upon a very just provocation, marched through the Assin country, to make war against the Fantees; and a division of his army penetrated to the coast. The general, in triumph at having arrived at the ocean, dipped his sword three times in its waters, and dispatched a portion of them to his master, who was then at Abrah, fifteen or twenty miles distant. The town of Annamaboe was attacked and destroyed; and the British officers, with great difficulty, repulsed the Ashantees from the fort. Of 15,000 souls, at that time assembled in the town, it was supposed that two thirds perished. The king, with his great officers, and their separate retinues, afterwards arrived, and a peace was concluded with the British governor.

I now prepared to visit the king of Ashantee, a sovereign so powerful that he had depopulated the neighbouring countries, and so rich that he was said to possess a piece of gold heavier than four men could carry. I had some difficulty in procuring porters and hammock men for so long a journey, and I was not surprised at it; for if the negroes had required me to carry them or their baggage thither, I should certainly have felt some reluctance. A native of Ashantee was my guide.

Proceeding in a north-north-west direction, we



advanced fifteen miles. The country was thinly inhabited, and sparingly cultivated, and the villages were ruined by war. Our progress was slow from the inequalities of the ground, and the obstructions we met with in the path. The village where we halted for the night was called Payntree's Croom, Payntree being the name of its chief.

I was conducted to a neat and comfortable dwelling, which consisted of four rooms, occupying the four sides of a small square, and all open towards the square. The village consisted of a very broad and well-cleaned street, formed by small huts framed with bamboo, and neatly thatched. I visited the chief, whom I found amusing himself with his children and his younger wives, while the elder wife was looking on with happy indifference. His habitation was a square of four apartments, which was entered by an outer one where a number of drums were kept. The angles were occupied by slaves. Within the chief's own room was a small one adorned with muskets, blunderbusses, and cartouche belts. The latitude of Payntree's Croom was  $5^{\circ} 20'$  north, longitude  $1^{\circ} 47'$  west.

On the second day of the journey, having passed two small romantic valleys, with a few huts in each, we entered a forest impervious to the sun. This is the natural state of the country before it has been touched by the hand of cultivation, and to this it soon returns when cultivation ceases. After a journey of twelve miles, we halted in the wood, and I passed the night, where nothing but the birds of the air could annoy me, in my hammock slung to the trees.

On the third day we continued our march through the same dark solitude, and arrived at Mansue, the last town of the Fantee territory, where I dined under a tattered shed. Mansue had been the great Fantee market for slaves brought from the interior; and its former consequence was evident from the extent of its site, over which a few sheds were now scattered. After a day's journey of eight miles, we halted in the wood. In the night we received a visit from a panther, and we found the earth damp, and swarming with reptiles and vermin.

The next day the path was a labyrinth of the most intricate windings. The roots of the cotton trees obstructed it continually, and we advanced by stepping and jumping up and down, rather than walking. Large trunks of fallen trees impeded our progress, and we were frequently obliged to cut away the underwood. The trees were covered with climbing plants like small cables, which, having ascended the trunks, shot abruptly downwards, crossed to the opposite trees, and formed an inextricable maze. The whole afforded a picture of bold and luxuriant vegetation, unrestrained by the hand of man. Every day we passed some rivers, and this day we passed four. In the evening we rested at Fousou, the first town in the Assin country; it was formerly a large town, but now, by the victorious arms of the Ashantees, it was reduced to a few sheds. Our day's journey was fourteen miles.

During the two following days the path was sometimes rugged and sometimes swampy; but the gloom of the forest was unvaried. Several human skulls were seen on the ground, and a

strong odour was emitted by the decaying plants. In these two days we advanced nineteen miles ; and on the third day, having passed two desolate villages, we arrived at the banks of the river Boosempira, or Chamah. The bordering trees were beautiful ; the river was forty-three yards wide, and seven feet deep ; and I crossed it in a canoe hollowed out of a single tree.

The scene brightened from our crossing the Boosempira. Prasoo, the first town, consisted of a wide, clean street, formed by tolerably regular houses ; Kickiwherry, the second, where we passed the night, was still larger. Here we halted under the public tree, a banian, or Indian fig. from whence we were conducted to a comfortable dwelling, forming a square, as usual, but with a bamboo curtain to let down at the open front ; the floors were raised about eighteen inches from the ground, and daily washed with a red earth. This day's journey was seven miles. The thermometer at eight o'clock in the morning was 77° ; at one in the afternoon 91°.

On the seventh day of our journey we passed four villages, with forests in the intervals between them ; and slept at a fifth, where we saw the first plot of corn since leaving Payntree. On the eighth we reached Akrofroom, which was by far the largest town we had seen. Our two days' journey was twenty miles, and our course nearly north. Heavy rain during the night flooded our lodging, and rendered our path to the next town impassable ; we were therefore obliged to wait till the day following, when, after eleven miles march through the forest, we reached Moisee. This is the last town of Assin, and is situated at the foot

of a range of hills, covered with wood, which divide that country from Ashantee.

Our ninth day of travelling passed this boundary, and included a space of only six miles ; yet in this space were three towns. At the second of these, called Fohmannee, we were entertained with fruit and palm wine by a venerable old man, whose life was a forfeit to the law on account of some superstitious observance. He was now waiting the result of a petition he had sent to the king of Ashantee, praying that he might be spared the fatigue of the journey to Coomassie, the capital, and that, in compassion to his infirmities he might be executed at home. This respectable man conversed cheerfully, and congratulated himself upon having seen white men before he died. His petition was granted, and his head arrived at Coomassie the day after myself.

Doompassee, where we slept, was the most industrious town on the path ; cloth, beads, and pottery were being manufactured in all directions, and the smith's forges were always at work. I dispatched a messenger from hence to the king, to inform him of my intended visit, and after resting some days I proceeded to Dadawassee, a distance of seven miles, in which I passed three other towns. The path, that in Fantee and Assin, would seldom have admitted my hammock, if I had chosen to be carried in it, had here been cleared by the king's order ; and the numerous paths that branched off from it shewed that the country was well inhabited. At Dadawassee I found a messenger from the king, inviting me to enter his capital, and bringing a present of a sheep, forty yams, and two ounces of gold.

The next day we proceeded to Assiminia, a distance of eight miles, in which we passed nine other towns. The path was frequently eight feet wide, and kept as neat as that of a garden.

We remained at Assiminia one entire day, owing to a violent tornado which happened in the night, and increased the streams near the town from ankle deep to three feet. On the following day we advanced eleven miles. The towns, which are seven in number, presented one wide central street, with trees at each end. At the last of these, called Sarrasou, which is in latitude  $6^{\circ} 30'$  north, and longitude  $2^{\circ} 6'$  west, we passed the night.

The next day was to witness my entrance into Coomassie, from which I was now only seven miles distant; I therefore put on my state habit, and dressed my attendants as handsomely as possible. On proceeding, we found the soil a rich black mould, and saw continual and regular plantations of corn, yams, ground nuts, &c. enclosed by drains, and kept free from weeds. At six miles from Sarrasou we crossed a marsh that insulates Coomassie; it was here forty yards wide and one deep, and at two o'clock we entered the city, passing under a fetish, which was a dead sheep, wrapped in red silk, and suspended between two lofty poles. Our days of travelling from Annamaboe had been thirteen, and the distance was, according to my computation, 145 miles.

We were met by upwards of 5,000 people, most of whom were armed; my ears were assailed by the sound of horns, drums, and gong-gongs, and the report of muskets and blunderbusses; while the captains were seen emerging from the smoke with

the gestures and distortions of maniacs. Their dress was not less extraordinary. The war-cap was decorated with a pair of gilt ram's horns, branching out in front, and two immense plumes of eagle's feathers from the sides; it was fastened under the chin with bands of cowries. The vest was of red cloth, covered with charms, or scraps of writing, inclosed in gold and silver, and embroidered cases of every colour; small brass bells, shells, knives, horns and tails of animals. Leopards' tails hung down their backs, over a small bow covered with charms. They wore loose cotton trowsers; and prodigious boots, ornamented with bells, horses' tails, strings of amulets, and shreds of leather, reached half way up the thigh, and were fastened by small chains to the belt. A small quiver of poisoned arrows hung from the left wrist; in the left hand was a small spear, covered with red cloth and silk tassels; and between the teeth was held an iron chain that hung down to the breast, from which was suspended a piece of Moorish writing that probably performed the office of a shield. The black complexions, the strange attitudes, and the extravagant dress of these warriors, produced a figure scarcely human.

This exhibition over, we proceeded, attended by the soldiers and the crowd. The several streets branching off to the right and left were crammed with people, and the large open porches of the houses were filled with the better sort of women and children. We halted near the palace, while the bands, which were principally composed of horns and flutes, entertained us with their wild melodies, and the large umbrellas, made to rise

and sink by their bearers, and the large fans of ostrich's feathers waving around, refreshed us with small currents of air. Our attention was diverted from the novelty of this spectacle, by another, replete with horror—a man led to sacrifice, under torture that I shudder to think of, and shall not detail.

Passing through a very wide street, we entered the market-place, which was nearly a mile in circumference. In the distance we saw the king, with his tributaries and officers, resplendent with ornaments of gold; while a mass of armed men and attendants seemed to make our approach to him impracticable. More than a hundred bands of music burst out at once; more than a hundred large umbrellas, or canopies, which could shelter thirty persons each, were raised up and let down by their bearers; the state hammocks were resting on the heads of those appointed to carry them; and innumerable small umbrellas, of various coloured stripes, were crowded in the intervals. The large umbrellas were made of scarlet, yellow, or other shewy colours, of cloth or silk, and crowned on the top with crescents, pelicans, elephants, barrels, and swords of gold. The valances were scalloped and fringed; in some, small looking-glasses were inserted, from others projected the proboscis and small teeth of elephants. A few of these umbrellas were roofed with the skins of leopards, and crowned with the skin of various animals, stuffed to look like nature. The cushions and pillows of the hammocks were covered with crimson taffeta, and the richest cloths hung over the sides.

The king's messengers, who were distinguished by gold breast-plates, made way for us, and as I was to take the hand of every governor and captain, as I passed him, I had time to observe their dress. They wore Ashantee cloths, of incredible size and weight, and extravagant price, as the most costly foreign silks had been unravelled to form them, in a great variety of colour and pattern. These were thrown over the shoulder like the Roman toga. A small silk fillet was worn round the temples; and massive gold necklaces curiously wrought, round the neck. From the latter were suspended Moorish charms, inclosed in square cases of gold, silver, and embroidery. Some wore necklaces of aggrary beads, reaching below the stomach. A band of gold and beads, from which hung several strings of the same, encircled the knee, and a band composed of casts of animals, rings, and round flat pieces of gold, strung together, went round the ankle. Their sandals were of green, red, and delicate white, leather. Manillas and rude lumps of rock gold hung from their left wrists, of which some were so heavily loaded, that they were supported on the heads of handsome boys. Gold and silver pipes and canes appeared in every direction. Wolves and rams' heads, of the natural size, cast in gold, were suspended from gold-handled swords, the blades of which were rusted with blood; the sheaths were of leopard's skin, or the shell of a fish resembling shagreen. The large drums were placed on the head of one man, and beaten by two others, and were braced around with the thigh bones of conquered enemies, and ornamented with their skulls. The



kettle-drums were covered with leopards' skins, and the wrists of the drummers were hung with bells and pieces of iron, that gingled loudly as they were beating. The smaller drums were suspended from the neck by scarves of red cloth. The horns were formed of the teeth of young elephants, and were ornamented with gold, and human jaw-bones.

The great officers were seated on chairs of black wood, inlaid with ivory, and embossed with gold. Large fans of ostrich feathers played around them, and behind them stood their handsomest youths, arrayed in corslets of leopard skin, covered with gold cockle-shells. These were stuck full of small knives, with handles of blue agate, and sheaths of gold or silver. Large gold-handled swords were fixed behind the left shoulder; and silk scarves, and horses' tails, generally white, streamed from the arms and the waist cloth. They were armed with Danish muskets, ornamented with gold and shells. Behind some of the chairs stood handsome girls, holding silver basons. Each of the great men had a stool, the badge of his place and rank, borne on the head of a favourite; and crowds of little boys were seated around, flourishing elephants' tails, curiously mounted. The stools were carved with great labour, and had a large bell at each end.

The soldiers were sitting on the ground. Their caps were of leopard's skin, with the tail hanging down behind. Their faces and arms were painted with long white streaks. On their hips and shoulders was a cluster of knives. Some of the most daring were distinguished by a chain and collar of

iron, which I was afterwards informed they would not have exchanged for gold.

We now passed seventeen Moors, arrayed in large cloaks of white satin, richly trimmed with spangled embroidery. Their shirts and trowsers were of silk, and their large muslin turbans were studded with a border of different coloured stones. We then passed the great officers of the household; the chamberlain, the gold-horn-blower, the captain of the messengers, the captain of the market, the keeper of the royal burying-ground, the master of the bands, who each sat surrounded by a retinue that announced the dignity of his office. The cook had a large quantity of silver plate displayed before him, and a number of small services, covered with a leopard's skin, held behind him. The executioner, a man of uncommon size, wore a heavy gold hatchet on his breast, and before him was carried the execution stool, clotted with blood, and partly covered with a caul of fat. The four linguists were surrounded by persons who carried gold canes, tied in bundles, like fasces. The keeper of the treasury, in addition to his private magnificence, had the blow-pan, boxes, scales and weights of his office, which were of gold.

We now approached the sovereign; the highest point of this astonishing display of magnificence, and I received his offered hand. He appeared to be about thirty-eight years of age, and inclined to corpulence. His countenance was benevolent, and his manners were majestic, yet courteous.

A diadem was elegantly painted in white on the forehead of the king, a kind of epaulette on each shoulder, and a large full-blown rose on his breast. His fillet was of aggrý beads, his necklace of gold.

cockspur shells, his bracelets were the richest mixture of beads and gold, his fingers were covered with rings ; his knee-bands were of aggrry beads, his ancle-strings of small drums, swords, guns, stools, and birds of gold, clustered together, his sandals of soft white leather, and his cloth of dark green silk. On his finger and thumb he wore a pair of gold castanets, which he clapped to enforce silence.

The king was seated on a low chair richly ornamented with gold ; the elephants' tails that waved before him were spangled with gold ; the belts of the guards who stood behind him were cased with gold, and covered with small jaw-bones of gold. The eunuch who presided over the attendants had about his neck a massive piece of gold ; the royal stool was entirely cased with gold, and was held under a splendid umbrella, ornamented with various musical instruments covered with gold. In a word, gold was blazing in every direction ; and Peru, as it appeared at its first discovery, was present to my imagination.

I was now seated under a tree to receive the visits of this magnificent assembly. The chiefs dismounted from their hammocks, as they approached me, and advanced, under their umbrellas, with a small number of their guards, their captains halloing in their ears their valourous deeds and strong names. These great men, like the king of Abyssinia, were too great to walk alone, and were supported round the waist by the hands of a favourite slave. Chiefs of five or six years of age, bending under their golden ornaments, were carried under their canopies on the shoulders of a strong slave ; and old captains of a

secondary rank were borne in the same manner. Some of my visitors danced as they passed me ; some took off their sandals ; all took my hand.

At length the king advanced. He enquired my name a second time, and then wished me a good night. He was followed by his sisters, aunts, and others of his family, who wore rows of fine gold chains round their necks. Numerous chiefs succeeded these, and it was late before we were at liberty to retire, when we were conducted to a range of spacious buildings that had been the habitation of a son of one of the former kings. I estimated the number of warriors present at my public reception at 30,000.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

### KING AND CUSTOMS OF ASHANTEE.

**T**HE next day I was desired to attend the king at his own house and deliver my presents. Nothing could surpass his surprise and pleasure on seeing the different articles of European manufacture that I had assembled ; particularly a camera obscura and telescope. He returned thanks in a dignified manner, and said, " Englishmen know how to do every thing proper. Englishmen know more than Dutchmen or Danes ; black men know nothing."

I was afterwards present at a council held in the king's palace, which was an immense building, containing a number of oblong courts and squares. The squares had a large apartment on

each side, open in front, and supported by two pillars, with cornices of very bold cane work. A drop curtain of curious cane work was suspended from the top, and within were chairs and stools embossed with gold, and beds of silk. The most ornamental part was the residence of the women. The fronts of the apartments were closed with open carved work, except two door-ways. The oblong courts had arcades on one side, curiously wrought, with rooms over them, with small windows of carved wooden lattice, some of which were cased with gold. Within the innermost square was the council chamber.

After waiting nearly an hour in the outer court, a ceremonial always observed, I was conducted to an inner one, where the king appeared at the head of two long files of his captains and counselors, who were seated under rich umbrellas, with their distinct retinues. The splendour of the whole exceeded that of my first reception.

The king proposed the renewal of the war with the Fantees, who had given great cause of offence; when the captains rushed before him and exclaimed, "King, this shames you too much! you must let us go to-night, and kill all the Fantees!" They then presented themselves successively, with their separate retinues and bands of music, and bowing before the king, received his foot upon their heads. Each then directed his sword to the king, and swore by the king's head that he would go with the army that night, and bring him the heads of all the Fantees. The council broke up soon after; but the king found means to appease the wrath of his captains, and the Fantees were suffered to wear their heads some time longer.

Another time I was sent for by the king to converse with him on the subject of medicine. I first shewed him some simple medicines, and described their uses. He was very desirous to possess them, and I gave him a quantity of each. I then produced some botanical books, and at the sight of every coloured plant he held up his hand, and exclaimed "hah!" and then demanded the name. The sensitive plant he pointed out, and described himself. During my exhibition, he whispered to one of his attendants, who went out, and returned with nine ackies of gold (value, each, 2*l.* 5*s.*) wrapped in small piece of cloth, which the king presented to me. He then shook hands with me, and retired into his house; but soon returned, leading one of his sisters by the hand, with an air that would put to shame many fine gentlemen in Europe, and saying to her, "This is the white doctor I told you of; tell him your complaint, and he will do you good." Then turning to me he added, "Give me the gold I gave you; the cloth is not clean; I want to put it in a clean cloth for you." He wrapped it in a piece of rich silk, and when he gave it to me again said, "I like you; I like the English very much; they are a proper people, and I wish to drink health with you." He then went to his own apartment, and returned with a flask of Holland's Geneva, and two servants with glasses, and a silver vase with water. He helped himself and me, and bowing said, "Saï wishes you good health." I returned the bow, saying, "I wish good health to the king, and hope he will never want any of my medicines." When this was explained to him, he held out his glass, and we touched and drank.

In the evening I was desired to visit the king's sister, and told that I must dress, and put on my hat and sword, as the lady had a stool and retinue of her own, being governess of a large town. I found her in one of the apartments of her house; but it was past my skill to discover any real complaint. I thought it requisite, however, to give her a medicine, which she shared with her husband.

The king went to Berramang, a town about five miles to the north-east of Coomassie, and the chief linguist told me that he had orders to furnish me with some of the king's hammock men, if I chose to visit him. My choice could not be doubted; and crossing the marsh, which was here 150 yards broad, and two feet deep, we proceeded along the path leading to Sallagha, the capital of Inta. The path was wide, and so straight that vistas, varied by gentle risings, appeared before us. The country was beautiful, and we passed through seven neat villages, environed with extensive plantations. The king received me in the marketplace, and after some conversation, we walked in the town, and conversed with the Moors, who were reclining, or playing at draughts under the trees.

At two o'clock dinner was announced, and I was conducted through a door of green reeds into the king's garden, an area equal to one of the large squares in London. In the centre, under four large umbrellas of scarlet cloth, was placed the dining table. His massive plate was well disposed, silver knives, forks, and spoons, were laid, and a large silver waiter in the middle supported a roasting pig. Other dishes were stews, roasted ducks, fowls, peas-pudding, &c. On the ground, on one side, were placed various soups and vege-

tables; on the other, oranges, pines, and other fruits, sugar candy, Port, Madeira, spirits, Dutch cordials, and glasses. Before I sat down, the king said that, as I had come out to see him, I must receive a present from his hands: he then gave me two ounces, four ackies of gold (value 9*l*.) and made presents to my attendants.

I never saw a dinner more handsomely served, nor ever ate a better; and on my expressing this to the king, who sat at a distance, and visited me occasionally, he sent for his cooks, and gave them ten ackies of gold. After I retired, my attendants were called in, and took their places at the table; and what remained was given to them, even to the table-cloth and napkins. I took leave about five o'clock; the king accompanying me to the end of the town, shaking hands with me, and wishing me good night at parting. I reached Coomassie at six, much pleased with this royal banquet.

There are four great men who compose the privy council, and check the power of the king. They decide upon the great question of peace or war, even in opposition to him: the domestic administration they influence by their opinion, but do not controul by authority. The king expressed a wish to visit me, because I told him so many things that black men had never heard of; but he added that his great men prevented it, by saying that it did not become him, as a great king, to visit me; he should only send his compliments and see me, and when he sent for me, make me wait a long time before I was admitted.

I have already remarked the general propensity of men to set up one of their fellow men as an object of adoration; but another remark follows.



Idols are approached through their priests, who are the depositories of the offerings, and the real possessors of authority ; so the ministers of royalty appropriate the power and the emoluments to themselves, and leave the idol only outward splendour and empty homage.

Saï is the family name of the kings of Ashantee. The monarchy is said to have been founded towards the end of the seventeenth century, by Saï Tootoo. He did not live to see all the streets of Coomassie completed ; for war being declared against the Atoäs, a people between Akim and Assin, he was shot in his hammock, as he was passing leisurely through the forest, with a guard of a few hundred men. This happened on a Saturday, and no enterprize has since commenced on that day of the week.

In 1720 Saï Apokoo, brother of Saï Tootoo, was placed on the regal stool. Had there been no brother, a sister's son would have been the successor. This rule originates in a laudable desire to preserve some of the royal blood. If the king's wife were unfaithful, this precious fluid would be lost ; the sister conveys it to her offspring. Saï Apokoo finished the building of Coomassie, exchanged compliments with the king of Dahomy, and subdued many of the nations around him.

In 1741 Saï Aquissi succeeded his brother, Saï Apokoo. The king of Akim desiring to go to war with one of his neighbours, was obliged to ask permission of the king of Ashantee, and to promise him half the spoil. It happened that the spoil was trifling, and he did not send it ; but he soon heard of Aquissi's intention to demand his head, and summoning his ministers, he told them

he desired to sacrifice his life for the quiet of his people. His ministers insisted upon sharing his fate; a barrel of powder was brought for each to sit upon; and, after drinking a quantity of rum, they lighted the powder with the fire from their pipes, and were blown to atoms.

In 1753 *Sai Cudjo*, (*Monday*, from the day of the week on which he was born) succeeded *Sai Aquissi*. He subjected some countries, put an end to revolts in others, and was esteemed a great captain.

In 1785 *Sai Quamina* (*Saturday*) succeeded *Sai Cudjo*. The *Akims* revolted soon after, and the *Ashantee* general *Quatchie Quofie*, one of the four great men, by the treachery of his followers, obtained the head of their leader. He was so vain of this achievement, that he had a figure of him made, with which he crowned his umbrella, and before which he danced and boasted on all public occasions. These brave people have shaken off their dependance at least eight times.

One of the kings of *Akim* tyrannized so cruelly, that, at the end of six months, he was commanded by his people to kill himself. He could only obtain the respite of a week, which he passed in singing, thus celebrating his own custom.

*Sai Quamina* invaded *Banda*, and the king, finding his situation hopeless, determined to kill himself: but, that his head might not be converted into a trophy for his enemies, he ordered it to be cut off after his death, and sewed in the abdomen of a woman, who was to be sacrificed for that purpose, and then buried in a heap of the slain. The order was executed; the secret was betrayed, and the king of *Banda's* skull was now at *Coo-*

massie, and formed one of the ornaments of a great drum.

In 1793 Saï Quamina had remained twelve months on a visit at Dwabin, deaf to the remonstrances of his people, and infatuated by the arts of his mistress, who was daughter to the king; when it was announced to him that if he were not present at the ensuing Yam Custom, he would be deprived of the stool. The warning was neglected, and the threat was put in execution. Saï Quamina was desired to retire to the bush with a few of his women and slaves, and build a village for himself and them. He did not long survive his disgrace, and the black Cleopatra died soon after her Antony. It is accounted despicable to survive disgrace.

In 1799 Saï Tootoo Quamina, the present king, succeeded his brother, Saï Apokoo. When I was at Coomassie, Saï Tootoo Quamina had sent to demand the royal stool of Buntooko, the capital of Gaman, which was thickly plated and embossed with gold. In the absence of the king's sister, who was the soul of the government, it was given up. On her return, she reproached her brother with cowardice, and ordered a stool of solid gold to be made in its place. This was also demanded. A man's seat, or stool, is in these countries his title to his possessions, whatever be his rank; and, when not disturbed, it descends with them to his posterity. The sister returned for answer that she was more fit to be a king than her brother, and that she would fight to the last rather than part with the stool. The king of Ashantee sent word, that she was a strong woman, and proper for a king's

sister, and he would allow her twelve months to prepare for war. Sai Tootoo was now preparing also ; though he seemed inclined to peace : but his four great men said that his other tributaries would laugh at him, if he did not get the king of Gaman's head.

Though the Ashantees were the most polished nation of negroes I had met with in Western Africa, their prodigality of human blood at funerals and festivals was such as to make my friend, the king of Dahomy, appear a niggard. Apokoo, one of the four great men, being informed that his mother's sister was dead, killed a slave, in honour of her, before his own house, and then proceeded to her's, to sacrifice others, as custom demanded ; but on opening her boxes, he found them nearly empty, and he was informed that the old lady had thrown most of her rock gold into the river, to prevent its coming into his possession, he therefore revenged himself by sacrificing only one more victim.

One of the king's uncles begged permission to go and *make custom* for some relations he had lost in the last Fantee war, whose spirits, he feared, were beginning to trouble him. The king gave him four ounces of gold, two ankers of rum, one barrel of powder, and four human victims, towards the celebration of this custom.

One of the king's sons, a boy about ten years of age, shot himself. His mother had been criminal with a slave, and had been put to death, and the boy was banished the presence of the king. This morning he had stolen into the palace for the first time, and the king had desired he might be removed, observing that he had, doubtless, as bad a

head towards him as his mother. The boy replied, that if he might not be allowed to come and look at his father, he had better die; and in half an hour he destroyed himself by directing a blunderbuss into his mouth, and discharging it with his foot. The funeral custom was celebrated in the afternoon with dancing, singing, revelry, and firing of muskets, and two men and a girl were sacrificed. The trunks and heads were left in the market-place till night.

The decease of a person of consequence is announced by a discharge of musketry; and in an instant slaves are seen bursting out of the house, and running towards the bush, in order to escape, if possible, the being sacrificed. The body is handsomely drest in silk and gold, and laid on the bed, with the richest cloths beside it. One or two slaves are then sacrificed at the door of the house.

At the death of the mother of Quatchie Quofie, one of the four great men, the king, Quatchie Quofie, and Odumata, another of the great men, each sacrificed a young girl the moment the lady breathed her last, that she might not be without attendants in the other world, till a proper number could be dispatched to her. The king, and the adherents and retainers of the family, sent contributions of gold, gunpowder, rum, and cloth, for the custom. This custom was an economical one; yet the quantity of powder amounted to nearly twelve barrels.

I set out to be a spectator of the ceremony, and passed two headless bodies, scarcely cold, with vultures hovering over them. Several troops of women, from fifty to a hundred in each, were dancing along, in a motion resembling skating,

praising, and bewailing the deceased. Other troops carried on their heads bright brass pans, with the rich cloths and silks of the deceased, twisted and stuffed into cones, crosses, globes, and other forms. The faces, arms, and breasts of these women were daubed with red earth, to look like blood. Now and then a bleeding victim was hurried by; the exulting countenances of his persecutors forming a striking contrast with the apathy of his own. Quatchie Quofie passed me, plunging from side to side like a Bacchanal, and regarding the victims with a savage eye, bordering upon frenzy, while they looked at him with indifference.

I followed to the market-place of Assafoo, one of the suburbs of Coomassie, where the king and the chiefs, in their usual splendour, and attended by their various retinues, were seated: a semicircular area of half a mile was left open. Thirteen victims, surrounded by their executioners, stood near the king; rum and palm wine were flowing copiously; horns and drums were sounding their loudest notes; when, in an instant, there was a burst of musketry near the king, which spread round the circle, and continued, without ceasing, for an hour. The greater the chief, the greater the charge of powder he is allowed to fire. On the death of his sister, the king fired an ounce.

The firing over, and the libations of palm wine that followed, the ladies of Quatchie's family came forward to dance. Many of them were elegant figures, and very handsome; most of them were clad in yellow silk, and had a silver knife hanging from a chain round the neck. A few were dressed

fantastically as fetish women. The Ashantees dance elegantly, a man and a woman together, and the figure and movements of the dance approximate closely to the waltz.

I saw the first victim sacrificed. His right hand was lopped off, and his head was severed from his body. The twelve other victims were dragged forward; but the funeral customs of the Ashantees were not to my taste, and I made my way through the crowd, and retired to my quarters. Other sacrifices, principally of females, were made in the bush, where the body was buried.

It is usual to "wet the grave" with the blood of a free man. The heads of the victims being placed at the bottom of the grave, several of the unsuspecting lookers on are called upon, in haste, by the retainers of the family to assist in placing the coffin, or basket; and just as it rests upon the heads, a slave from behind stuns one of these assistants with a violent blow, which is followed by a deep cut in the back of the neck. The unfortunate man is then rolled into the grave, and it is immediately filled up.

Blood and gunpowder are lavished at a funeral in proportion to the rank of the deceased, and the estimation in which he is held. On the death of a king, every funeral custom that has been made during his reign must be repeated, human sacrifices included, to add to the solemnity of his own.

The brothers, sons, and nephews of the king, affecting a temporary insanity, rush forth with their muskets, and fire promiscuously among the people. Few persons of rank quit their houses during the first two or three days; but they drive

out their slaves and vassals, as a composition for their own absence. The king's favourite slaves, to the number of a hundred or more, and many of his women, are murdered on his tomb.

I was assured that the custom for Sai Quamina, the late king, was celebrated weekly for three months, and that two hundred slaves were sacrificed, and twenty-five barrels of powder fired, each time. But the custom for the present king's mother, who was regent during his absence while in the Fantee war, was the most celebrated. The king himself devoted 3,000 victims, upwards of 2,000 of whom were Fantee prisoners; five of the principal towns contributed one hundred slaves, and twenty barrels of powder, each; and most of the smaller towns ten, and two barrels of powder.

The kings, and the kings only, are buried in the cemetery at Bantama, a village in the vicinity of the capital; and their bones are afterwards deposited in an opposite building. To this is attached a large brass pan, five feet in diameter, which receives the blood of the human victims, who are frequently sacrificed to "water the graves of the kings." This blood, mingled with a variety of animal and vegetable matter, fresh and putrid, produces invincible fetish.

On occasion of the contemplated war with the king of Gaman, Sai Tootoo, to propitiate the fetish, watered the bones of his mother and sister with blood. Their bones were taken from their coffins, bathed in rum and water, wiped with silk, rolled in gold dust, and ornamented with rock gold and aggr. During two nights, every person who could be found in the street was dragged to the



palace, and immolated to these royal bones ; the ivory horns of the king sounding, as is customary at an execution or public sacrifice, " wow, wow, wow ! death, death, death ! " and the bands, as each head was cut off, playing a particular strain. The bones, thus honoured, were deemed worthy of a place among bones that had once pressed the throne, and were accordingly interred with those of the kings.

The bodies of chiefs who die at a distance from the capital are smoked over a slow fire, and kept till they can be conveyed thither for interment. Those persons who, from crimes, or other circumstances, are deprived of the funeral custom, are said to be doomed to wander in the bush, and occasionally to haunt such of their family as have neglected to pay them this regard. The dead bodies of slaves demand no respect. The trunks of those that are sacrificed are carried to a small grove called the Spirit-house, at the back of the large market-place. The bloody tracks, daily renewed, marked the various quarters from whence they had been dragged ; and the multitude of vultures on the trees, and the nightly visits of the panthers, did not prevent the stench from being insupportable.

The last of the Ashantee customs I shall mention is the yam custom, which takes place annually before that root is allowed to be eaten. The yam is a root about two spans long, and the same in circumference. It is white within, and when roasted or boiled, it forms a principal part of the food of the negroes. The taste is something like that of our earth-nuts, but not quite so sweet ; the substance is more dry and firm. The yam shoots

out a long green leaf with small prickles, and is propagated by planting the root. It is said that before the arrival of the Portuguese, who introduced the millet, the natives subsisted chiefly on yams and potatoes.

At the yam custom, all the tributaries, and caboceers, or governors of towns, repair to Coomassie; and as no festival can be solemnized without blood, each of the principal of them sacrifices a slave at his entrance into the town. Neither theft nor assault is punishable during the yam custom, and all the barriers of continence are broken down.

The assemblage in the market-place was such as on my first arrival, but with many additions. The skulls of all the kings and governors who had been conquered from the first foundation of the monarchy, and of the chiefs who had been slain for revolting, were displayed by two bands of executioners, each upwards of a hundred, with dances, grimaces, and frightful gestures, and clashing their knives against the skulls. Sprigs of thyme were placed where eyes and ears had been, to prevent the spirits from troubling the king.

The next day a large quantity of rum was poured, by the king's order, into brass pans in different parts of the town; and the crowd pressed around, and drank like hogs. Freemen and slaves, women and children, striking, kicking, and trampling upon each other, pushed, head foremost into the pans, and wasted more than they drank. In less than an hour, excepting the principal men, not a sober person was to be seen. Parties of men were reeling and rolling under the weight of one whom they were affecting to carry home: strings

of women, hand in hand, were falling down like rows of cards : children were lying prostrate in a state of insensibility. All wore their best clothes, which they trailed after them in a drunken emulation of dirtiness. Towards evening the populace became sober, and a grand procession closed the festival.

About a hundred persons, mostly culprits, are sacrificed to adorn the yam custom. The royal ornaments of gold are melted down every year, and assume new forms and patterns for the yam custom ; and when it is ended, the royal household publicly eat new yam in the market-place. It is not without reason that this custom was instituted ; for yams are generally forbidden to be eaten till they are at full growth, being, before that time, unwholesome, if not dangerous.

The day after the yam custom the king of Ashantee and his captains perform their annual ablutions in the river Dah at Sarrasoo ; and the succeeding day he washes in the marsh, at the south-east end of the town. He throws the water with his own hand over his person, his chairs, stools, gold and silver plate, and the various articles of furniture used particularly by himself ; and about twenty sheep are dipped, that their blood may be hallowed to pour upon the stools and door-posts of the palace. The doors and windows are besmeared with a mixture of eggs and palm oil.

The king rarely takes an oath ; when he does, it is in the presence of his women. I saw him swear that he would keep the peace with the Fantees. He was in the innermost square of his palace, in which were seated about three hundred females, dressed in all the magnificence that silk

and gold could bestow. The deputies of the governors and captains having sworn, the king swore deliberately, invoking God and his fetish to kill him, first, if he did not keep the treaty, if the other party had spoken true; and secondly, if he did not punish them, if they had spoken false.

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

### PEOPLE AND MANNERS OF ASHANTEE.

ASHANTEE is supposed to contain about a million of inhabitants, 200,000 of whom are able to bear arms. The men are well made, and their countenances are often European. It is only among the higher orders of women, who are exempt from labour, that beauty can be found. Among these I have not only seen the finest figures imaginable, but regular Grecian features.

Both men and women are particularly clean in their persons; the latter washing themselves, and the former being washed by them, from head to foot, every morning, with warm water and Portuguese soap, and using afterwards vegetable butter. Occasionally small delicate patterns, in green or white paint, are traced on their cheeks and temples. The lower ranks of people are commonly dirty. The heads of young women are shaved in patterns as intricate in appearance as those of a rich carpet. Upper cloths are generally worn.

Coomassie is built on the side of a large rocky

hill, surrounded by a marsh, the springs of which supply the city with water, and beyond this it is encircled by a beautiful forest. It occupies an oblong nearly four miles in circumference, without including the suburbs of Assafoo and Bantama. Four of the principal streets are half a mile in length, and from fifty to a hundred yards in width. I observed a new one laid out, and a line was stretched on each side to make it regular. The streets were all named, and a captain presided over each. The palace was situated in a long and wide street, running through the middle of the town, from which it was shut out by a wall. I reckoned twenty-seven streets. Several trees were scattered about the town for the recreation of the inhabitants.

Four other large towns, that is to say, Soota, Marmpon, Becqua, and Kokofoo, were built at the same time with Coomassie; the governors of these are allowed, like the king, to wear their sandals studded with gold.

The houses of Coomassie are shaped like an English barn, and join each other so as to form a regular street. The walls are constructed with two rows of stakes, the space between is filled with a gravelly clay, and the whole plastered on the outside with the same material. The roof is composed of a frame-work of bamboo thatched with palm leaves, and the interlacing bamboos that appear within are painted black and polished. The floors are of clay and stone, and are daily washed with an infusion of red ochre. The fronts of the houses are ornamented with cane, laid in various patterns on the walls, while soft, and covered with a thin coating of plaster. Arcades and piazzas

are common, and the houses of the captains have a gallery on the outside.

The doors are made of an entire piece of wood, cut, with great labour, out of the cotton tree; and strips of wood, differently cut and painted, are afterwards nailed across. The locks are from Houssa, and quite original. The windows are of open wood work, carved in fanciful and intricate patterns, and painted red. The frames are frequently cased with gold. When the house is two stories high, the under room is divided by a wall, to support the rafters for the upper. A house consists of an indefinite number of areas, from fifteen to thirty-six feet square, built on the four sides and connected by long courts. The rubbish and offal of each house is burnt every morning at the back of the street, and the people are as cleanly in their dwellings as their persons.

The piazza which runs along the interior of the wall that shuts out the king's palace from the street, is two hundred yards long, and inhabited by his captains and other attendants. Piles of skulls, and drums ornamented with skulls, are frequent in this piazza: over it runs a small gallery.

With all their tremendous exhibition of blood and bones, I am not certain that the Ashantees are a revengeful or a sanguinary people. The display of skulls proceeds, not from cruelty, but from the pride of conquest: and the streams of blood flow from good, though dreadfully mistaken motives; the propitiating a divinity, and the honouring departed friends.

I saw the bed-room of Odumata, which was only eight feet square, but, being hung round with a variety of gold and silver ornaments, it had

a rich appearance. The bed was about five feet high, and composed of pillows of the silk cotton, piled one upon another. I was assured that the king of Gaman had steps of solid gold to ascend to his bed.

Perhaps the average residents of Coomassie may not amount to more than from twelve to fifteen thousand; but the Ashantees persist in saying that the population, if collected, would be a hundred thousand; many families having slaves, and others children, residing in the villages and plantations near the city, employed in cultivating the ground.

The markets are held daily, from about eight o'clock in the morning till sun-set. Among the articles exposed for sale were beef and mutton, cut in small pieces for soup; wild hog's, deer's, and monkey's flesh; salt and dried fish from the coast; yams, plantains, corn, sugar-cane, rice, encrura, a mucilaginous vegetable, something like asparagus, but richer; peppers, vegetable butter, oranges, papaws, pine-apples, bananas; large snails, smoke-dried and stuck on small sticks like herring-bone; eggs for fetish; pitto, palm wine, rum; pipes, beads, looking-glasses, sandals, silk and cotton cloths, white and blue cotton thread, small pillows, calabashes, and gunpowde.

The currency of Ashantee is gold dust: eight takoos make an ackie; sixteen ackies make an ounce, and forty a pereguin. The ounce is valued at £.4 sterling.

The better sort of people eat soup of beef, mutton, fowls, or dried fish, abstaining from the one of these that is sacred to their fetish, and ground-

nuts strewed in blood ; the poorer class make their soup of dried deer, monkey's flesh, and frequently of the pelts of skins. Yams, plantains, and foofoos, are commonly eaten. Corn is roasted on the stalk. Eggs are forbidden by the fetish, and the Ashantees cannot be persuaded to taste milk. They drink palm wine, and pitto, which is made from dried corn, and tastes like brisk small ale.

The king has 3,333 wives, a mystical number, which is never exceeded, and which is made up on every vacancy ; but out of this number he presents wives to such of his subjects as have distinguished themselves. About six of these ladies reside in the palace ; many of them occupy a part of the king's country residence ; many live in a corner of the marsh, and others in two streets appropriated exclusively to themselves. No person approaches them but their female relations, and the king's messengers ; and when they walk out, which is seldom, they are preceded and surrounded by little boys with whips, who lash every one that does not quit the path, or jump into the bush, with his hands before his eyes.

The sisters of the king may marry, or intrigue, with whom they please, if the man be handsome and robust ; the Ashantees thus providing for the personal superiority of their future king. When the king's sister dies, unless the rank of her husband be originally elevated, he is expected to kill himself ; and if he hesitate, he is informed that he is the slave of his children, and must attend them wherever they go. When a son is born, the father acknowledges himself its vassal.

Wives are bought with gold, and their infidelity



is paid for by the seducer in the same manner. The wife is put to death by her husband ; but if her family be so powerful that he dares not destroy her, he cuts off her nose, and makes her the wife of one of his slaves. It is forbidden to praise the beauty of another man's wife, that being esteemed adultery by implication. None but a captain can sell his wife ; and he only if her family cannot redeem her by repaying the price they received for her.

An Ashantee does not compel his daughter to marry the man who bids for her ; but on her refusal to do so, he withdraws his support and protection, and would persecute her mother if she afforded either. Thus abandoned, the unfortunate young woman becomes a prostitute.

If a wife report to her family her dislike to her husband, or his ill treatment of her, and they tender him, in consequence, the sum he paid, he is obliged to accept it. She returns to her family, but may not marry again.

If a husband be not heard of by his wife during three years, she may marry again ; and if the first husband return afterwards, he has no claim to her.

A wife who betrays a secret loses her upper lip ; and one found listening to a private conversation of her husband loses one of her ears. Women so mutilated are to be met with in all parts of the town.

Far from me be the wish to diminish the privileges, or encroach on the prerogatives of my fair countrywomen, and farther still the thought of deforming their lovely faces ; but I humbly conceive that a visible mark on the lip, and an additional puncture through the ear, might not be an impro-

per distinction on these occasions, even in my own country.

In conversation at the house of one of the great men, I mentioned that an Englishman was not only restricted to one wife, but that a woman had frequently the privilege of choosing her husband. The ladies drew near, and rendered me trifling services; the men stopped me, said they did not want to hear that palaver any more, began to talk of war, and sent the women to their own apartments.

The blood of the royal family cannot be shed: when any are guilty of a capital crime, they are drowned by a particular officer in the river Dah. The kings of Ashantee do not as yet secure the pretenders to the throne by murder, mutilation, or confinement.

If a man swear on the king's head that another man must kill him, the oath is so sacred that the other must kill him. This frequently occurs; for an Ashantee, in his ardour for revenge, does not regard sacrificing his own life to bring a palaver upon his murderer. The interference of any one of the great men may be purchased, and it is irresistible with the king; but it is sold at an extravagant rate.

The king is heir to all the gold dust of his subjects; and all his subjects are desirous of hoarding gold, principally that they may be prepared for the purchase of muskets and gunpowder from the European settlements on the coast, in case of a war. They also purchase with eagerness the Portuguese tobacco, of which the Dutch governor of Elmina has sometimes sold them forty rolls a day, at the rate of two ounces of gold the roll. At the

death of one of the officers, five jars, said to hold four gallons each, were found filled with gold dust; and at the disgrace of another, three.

Apokoo was the keeper of the royal treasury; and before the treasury bag could be unlocked by the weigher, even by the king's order, Apokoo must give his sanction by striking the bag with his hand.

After heavy rains, gold washes down into the market-place, where it is carefully covered with soil by the captain who has the charge of the place. This remains till some public emergency, when the soil is washed for the service of the state. It had been washed only twice during the present reign, and had produced about 800 ounces of gold each time. It is death to pick up gold in the market-place, though a man may accidentally have dropped it himself.

The gold buried with the royal family at Bantama is sacred, and cannot be used, except in times of extreme national distress; and even then the king must not see it, if he would escape the fatal vengeance of the fetish.

Aggry beads are said to be found in the countries between Ashantee and the coast. The plain are blue, yellow, green, or a dull red; the variegated of every shade and colour; some resembling mosaic work, others exhibiting flowers and patterns so minute and delicate, that they equal the finest touches of the pencil. They are frequently valued at double their weight in gold; but this is trifling in comparison of their value in human life. If an aggry bead be broken in a scuffle, it is rated as the life of an ordinary man, and seven slaves are paid to the owner as an equivalent. A

basket of the boosee or gooroo nut, that is, the kola, would purchase a slave.

The good treatment of slaves is in some degree provided for by the liberty they have of transferring themselves to any free man ; whom they enjoin to make them his property by invoking his death if he does not. A slave flying to the temple, and devoting himself to the fetish, cannot be claimed by his master : but the master may close the door of the temple against all his slaves by paying four sheep, and two ounces of gold to the priests.

A man may kill his slave with impunity : if he kill the slave of another, he must pay the value. If a great man kill his equal, he is generally allowed to die by his own hand ; if he kill an inferior, seven slaves are generally paid to the family as a compensation.

Trifling thefts are punished by exposing the culprit in various parts of the town, and publishing the offence. In cases of greater theft, the family of the thief make good the loss, and either punish him or not, as they please. If the crime be heinous, or habitual, they can even put him to death.

The king has a troop of little boys who carry the fetish bows and arrows, and are licensed plunderers. They infest the market-place every morning, and whatever they can carry off is fair game : but if the loser can catch them before they reach the palace, he may have the satisfaction of beating them as much as he pleases, short of mortal injury. They are not easily caught ; and when beaten, they bear the pain like young Spartans. The anxious watchfulness of the market people,

and the comic archness of the boys, were very amusing. Our property was respected by them; but they mimicked our words and actions with great drollery.

The king had nearly a hundred negroes of different shades of colour, from red to white. They were collected for state; but were generally disgusting, emaciated objects, whose eyes would not bear the light.

When the king spits, the boys with the elephant's tails carefully wipe the place, or cover it with sand; and when he sneezes, every person present lays the two first fingers across the forehead and breast, as these people do when they ask a blessing. It is remarkable that a blessing is invoked in England on such an occasion, and that it has even given rise to the vulgar saying, "It is good to be married, if it be only to have somebody to say, *God bless you*, when you sneeze."

No subject can sit in public with a cushion on his stool, unless it have been presented to him by the king, or one of the four great men.

Persons accused of witchcraft, or having a devil, are tortured to death. After a criminal is executed, both the body and head are carried out of the town by some of the king's slaves, to be devoured by wild beasts; but if the deceased were a man of any consequence, some of his relations post themselves near the place, and purchase the right of burial for about eight ackies of gold.

A man may clear any part of the bush for making a plantation, or building a residence for himself, his family, and slaves.

The tribute is paid in gold, slaves, cattle, sheep and cloth.

The government can prohibit commerce with any foreign power, but it cannot direct the traders to any particular market.

Interest of money is  $33\frac{1}{2}$  per cent for every forty days; and when the patience of the creditor is exhausted, he seizes the debtor, or any of his family as slaves, and they can only be redeemed by payment of the debt.

The Ashantees are not mean proficient in the art of the goldsmith. Their weights are very neat brass casts of almost every animal, fruit, or vegetable known in the country. Their swords are generally perforated in patterns, like our fish knives: frequently they make two blades of fine workmanship springing from one handle.

The Ashantees excel in pottery. The clay is very fine, and when baked, is polished by friction; the grooves of the patterns are filled up with chalk. They tan, dress, and dye leather; and their carving in wood is curious.

The cloths are never more than four inches broad; but the variety, fineness, brilliance, and size, when worn, are astonishing. The white cloths are principally manufactured in Inta and Dagwumba. For mourning they are painted with a mixture of red dye and blood, for here blood is of little value. The painting is executed with a fowl's feather, the designs are not inelegant, and the cloths at a distance have the appearance of a coarse print. The women frequently join the stripes, and ornament their handkerchiefs with a zig-zag pattern, worked with unravelled silks of different colours.

A general is appointed to the command of an army

by receiving from the king's hand one of his gold-handled swords, which he swears to return incrustated with the blood of his conquered enemies. The secondary captains conduct the army, the general, with a few chosen individuals, being always in the rear, where they urge on the men with their heavy swords, and cut down any who retreat, till the case be hopeless. An Ashantee fires, and springs upon the throat of his enemy. To advance every time he fires is indispensable ; as, if he did not, he would be slain by his commander when the battle was over. In one of the most popular songs at Coomassie it is said, " If I fight, I die ; if I run away, I die ; better I go on and die." The general sits under his umbrella, and that he may appear to think lightly of his enemy, he is playing at some game ; while the heads of persons of any rank in the hostile army, who may be slain, are brought to him, and put under his foot. When the result of an important action is expected, and the messengers are known to be near the capital, the king, to manifest the same indifference, is seated in public with his gold worra board, playing with one of his dignitaries. It is remarkable that Michael Suhul, Ras of Tigré, on the other side of Africa, did the same.

Several of the hearts of the enemies are cut out by the fetish men who follow the army ; and the blood and small pieces being mingled with consecrated herbs, all those who have not killed an enemy before, eat a portion of it. It is believed that if they did not, their strength and courage would be secretly wasted by the spirit of the deceased. One man was pointed out to me as eat-

ing the heart of every enemy he killed ; probably from the belief that by so doing he added a portion of each man's strength and courage to his own.

During the active part of a campaign, the army subsists upon meal, which each man carries in a small bag at his side, and mixes in his hands with the first water he comes to. There is always a distinct body of recruits, who dispatch with their knives those whom the musket has wounded, and thus learn the trade of blood.

Each commander has a particular flourish for his horns, which, as they imagine, speaks distinct words. The king's flourish is, " I pass all kings in the world : " that of one great officer is, " While I live no harm can come : " that of another, " No one dares trouble me."

Apokoo said that he had, himself, conquered five nations during the present and preceding reigns ; and he named twenty-one nations which now paid tribute to Ashantee ; but he added, that there were three nations, two to the eastward, and one to the north-west, that would not pay it. Each of those to the eastward had defeated the Ashantees ; and the one to the north-west, on the king's sending for tribute, had desired that he would come and take it ; and afterwards had entirely destroyed an Ashantee army.

Seventeen hundred retainers were attached to the stool of Apokoo. This great man tried causes relating to the revenue, daily, at his own house ; where I saw him, on such occasions, reclining on a lofty bed composed of cushions, and covered with a rich cloth, or large piece of silk, and attended by two or three of his handsomest wives.



There are various ways of taking fetish ; but taking doom is the infallible test where human wisdom cannot discover the truth. The parties sip a strong infusion of the bark of a tree, which operates instantaneously as a most violent emetic and cathartic. Those who sip first may recover ; the dregs are often left designedly for the most obnoxious of the parties.

Once in his life it is usual for a man of consequence to make a public exhibition of his golden ornaments, and the exhibition of Apokoo took place while I was at Coomassie. They consisted of a girdle, two inches broad ; chains for the neck, arms, and legs ; manacles with keys, bells, chains, and padlocks ; armlets and ornaments for his wives, children, and captains ; swords, and figures of beasts, birds, and fishes. They were of the finest gold, and weighed altogether upwards of 100 ounces. When Apokoo had displayed this magnificence in the streets, he came to the door of my house, and desired me to come out to him. I went, and found a Moorish carpet spread, on a corner of which I was desired to sit down, under an umbrella ; and when I was seated, the great man, with his wives, children, and captains, danced, by turns, before me. Some of the young wives were dressed with great taste, having on a cloth of rich silk, with a bag of fine fur, studded with gold ornaments, slung over the right shoulder. On the left shoulder they held a pistol, and in the right hand a silver bow and arrow. If Apokoo were pleased with any one during the dance, when it was ended he took the bow, and hung on it some of the ornaments ; to others he

gave a little gold. He took several ornaments from the necks of the ladies, and placed them on my knees and on my left shoulder, which was considered as the greatest mark of honour he could bestow upon me.

Apokoo offered to lend me some books, and astonished me by producing two French volumes on geography, a Dutch Bible, a volume of the Spectator, and a Dissuasion from Popery. He was fond of scribbling, and frequently begged to know what he had written. The Ashantees could not comprehend how any character, or any thing, except a picture, could express an object. "My name," said the king, "is not like me."

Apokoo said, that England was too fond of fighting; that her soldiers were the same as dropping a stone in a pond, they went farther and farther. I could not deny the charge; but from an Ashantee who boasted that he had, himself, conquered five nations, I thought it rather extraordinary. One of the captains told me he had heard that the English were so constantly in palavers one with another, that their houses were made of wood, and set upon wheels, that when a man quarrelled with his neighbours, he might remove to another part of the bush.

I received an invitation from Odumata to drink palm wine with him. He said that when he was upon the coast he had an idea of walking to England; for he had been told that he should reach Santonee [Portugal] in thirty days, and that after this the path was very good. He expressed a desire to accompany me to England, provided I would engage to bring him back: but, having sold a prodigious number of captives to the English, he

expected some of them might know him again, and call out to the king of England to stop him.

A captain said that monkeys could talk, as well as men, but they were not such fools; for they knew, if they talked, men would make them work. The Moors said that the monkeys sprang from those Israelites who disobeyed Moses.

The wild music of the Ashantees is scarcely to be brought within the regular rules of harmony; yet their airs have a great sweetness and animation. They declare that they can converse by means of their flutes. The singing is mostly recitative, and in this the women take a part. The songs of the canoe men are peculiar to themselves, and resemble the chaunts in our cathedrals. The oldest air I met with was common to both Ashantees and Warsaws. I traced it through four generations; but the answer to my farther enquiries was, "It was made when the country was made."

The following is a translation of a song, in singing which the men sit in a line, with their musical instruments, and the women in a line opposite. Individuals rise and advance, singing in their turn,

FIRST WOMAN.

My husband likes me too much,  
He is too good to me;  
But I cannot like him,  
So I must listen to my lover.

FIRST MAN.

My wife does not please me,  
I tire of her now;  
So I will please myself with another,  
Who is very handsome.

SECOND WOMAN.

My lover tempts me with sweet words,  
But my husband always does me good;

So I must like him well,  
And I must be true to him.

## SECOND MAN.

Girl, you pass my wife handsome,  
But I cannot call you wife ;  
A wife pleases her husband only,  
But when I leave you, you go to others.

The Ashantees say that, at the beginning of the world, God created three black men and three white, with the same number of women, and placed before them a large box, or calabash, and a sealed paper. The black men had the privilege of choosing, and they took the box, expecting it contained every thing : but when they opened it, they found only gold, iron, and other metals, of which they did not know the use. The white men opened the paper, and it told them every thing. This happened in Africa, where God left the black men in the bush. The white men he conducted to the water side, where he taught them to build a ship, which carried them to another country. From hence they returned, after long period, with various merchandise, to trade with the black men, who might have been the superior people if they had chosen right.

The kings and governors are believed to dwell with God after death, enjoying to eternity the luxuries and state they possessed on earth : the paradise of the poor affords only a cessation from labour.

There are two orders of men attached to the inferior deities called fetishes. The first class reside with the fetish, who has a small round house at some distance from the town, and deliver his

oracular responses to those who desire to question him. The inferior class pursue their several avocations in society, assist in customs and superstitious ceremonies, and are what conjurors and fortune-tellers are in Europe. The number of these is augmented by persons who declare that the fetish has seized them; and after violent contortions, and great severities inflicted on themselves, they are acknowledged as belonging to the order. The dignity of the first class is hereditary.

Half the offerings made to the fetish are pretended to be thrown into the river; the other half belong to the priests. The king's offering is commonly ten ounces of gold, and three or four slaves; that of a poor man about four ackies.

Every family has its domestic fetishes, to which they offer yams, &c.: some of these are wooden figures; others are of fanciful forms, and different materials.

Different families solemnize different days of the week by wearing white cloths, and abstaining from labour. The king's fetish day is Tuesday. Propriety, unaided by religion, dictates a holiday to man. Some families never eat beef; others never eat pork, these meats being sacred to their fetish. Fowls and beef are the fetish of the king's family. This renunciation of the good things set before them by Providence, resembles that of the catholics, but proceeds from a different motive; the latter believe that mortifying their appetite is acceptable to God; the former that fowls and beef are acceptable to the idol.

When the Ashantees drink, they spill a little of the liquor upon the ground as an offering to the

fetish.; and when they rise from their chairs or stools, their attendants hastily lay the seat on its side, to prevent the devil from slipping into their master's place. This evil spirit is supposed to be white.

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## CHAPTER XXVII.

ROADS. ACCOUNT OF TIMBUCTOO. HOUSSA,  
RETURN TO THE COAST.

I HAVE hitherto said nothing of the Moors settled at Coomassie, who occupy one street exclusively. These people looked upon me with a jealous eye, and when I sketched the buildings, they endeavoured to persuade the king that I could lay a spell upon them. This gave him at first some uneasiness, but he afterwards permitted me to draw his portrait, and desired to be drawn handsome.

It was not without reason that the Moors were jealous of an intruder; for they exercise a most lucrative profession at Coomassie; the manufacturing, and selling of amulets or charms. The Ashantees believe that these avert every evil but sickness and death. For a charm of six lines, which the king presented to my interpreter, Baba, the chief Moor, received six ackies, or thirty shillings; and a sheet of paper would support an inferior Moor for a month. The charms attached to the war-coats of the principal officers cost the king from the value of nine to thirty slaves for

each coat : but when it is considered that these charms render the wearers invulnerable, the price is not extravagant. The keeping in the rear of the army, as it has been observed these officers always do, may probably assist the charm. That the charm assists their valour there can be no doubt, as they rush fearless upon the most daring enterprizes, and several of them offered to let us fire at them. The Moors have persuaded the Ashantees that they hold converse with God, and can invigorate them, while they gradually consume the strength of their enemies.

Having sent the Moors some muslin for turbans, I ventured to visit Baba, taking with me a present of pens, ink, paper, and pencils. The paper and pencils were highly acceptable ; but he preferred his reed and vegetable ink to my pens and ink. His pupils were writing on wooden boards. When any person came for a charm, one of the oldest boys wrote it ; the master added a sort of cabalistical mark, and gave the paper a mysterious fold ; and the negro snatched it eagerly, as it was held towards him, paid his gold for it, and hastened away to enclose it in the richest case he could afford.

I requested Baba to draw me a map of the world ; he did so, encircling one large continent with sea, and surrounding the sea with a border of rock. Baba possessed a great number of Arabic manuscripts.

From the Moors and negroes residing at Coomassie, and other Moors who visited it occasionally from distant parts, I learned the following particulars respecting the routes of the interior of Africa.

Nine great paths lead from Coomassie; the Dwabin, the Akim, the Assin, the Warsaw, the Sauee, the Gaman, the Soko, the Daboia, and the Sallagha.

Dwabin is to the eastward of Coomassie, and is only three quarters of a day's journey, or twelve miles and a half distant. Its king is tributary to Ashantee, and appears at the capital on public festivals.

The Akim path divides in two, the eastern fifteen, the other seventeen days' journey to Accra. The road is through Akim and Aquapim, and the distance from Coomassie to Accra may be estimated at 230 miles.

The Assin path was my road to Ashantee.

The Warsaw path leads to Elmina, which is ten days journey distant. This path passes through Dankara, a country said to be very productive of gold.

Sauee lies eight day's journey west-north-west from Ashantee.

Buntookoo, the capital of Gaman, is eleven days' journey north-north-west of Coomassie. Yamme, the frontier town, is reached on the eighth day. The capital, though not so large, is allowed to be better built than Coomassie, and it is incomparably richer in gold.

Soko is eleven days' journey from Coomassie.

Sixteen days' journey north-north-east of Coomassie is Boopree, the frontier town of Inta. On the way from thence to Daboia the inhabitants are so afraid of being carried off as slaves by the Ashantee traders, who travel that way in great numbers, that they have no doors to their houses, but



climb by a ladder, which they draw up after them, and enter by the thatch.

Sallagha, the grand market of the Inta kingdom, is seventeen days' journey north-eastward from Coomassie. The country of Booroom lies between Ashantee and Inta. Inta is more populous and more civilized than Ashantee. The Moorish influence has been long established there, and most of its chiefs affect to profess the Mohammedan faith. There is a constant commercial intercourse between Dahomy and Inta, the frontiers being only five days' journey apart.

Seven days north-east from Sallagha is Yahndi, the capital of Dagwumba. Yahndi is said to be much larger than Coomassie, and the houses to be much better built and ornamented. The Ashantees who had been there told me that they frequently lost themselves in the streets. The markets were described as animated scenes of commerce, crowded with merchants from almost all the countries of the interior. The people were said to be better artificers in gold, better dressers and dyers of leather than those of Ashantee. Horses and cattle were numerous. Yet, with all their advantages the kingdoms of Inta and Dagwumba are, in some degree, subservient to that of Ashantee. The reason is obvious; they have no fire-arms. They are commercial, but not warlike nations. The Moors had settled at Yahndi in great numbers, and the king had embraced the Mohammedan religion.

The general road from Coomassie to Jinnie is through Dagwumba, and is as follows :

To Buntookoo . . . . .	11 days' journey
Kong . . . . .	12
Kaybee . . . . .	9
Kayree . . . . .	3
Garoo . . . . .	5
Kingdom of Doowarroo	20
Niger . . . . .	5
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	65
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The mountains of Kong are scattered, not an unbroken chain.

There is another route from Coomassie to Jinnie, which lies to the westward, and passes through countries less civilized.

*The Niger, or Neel el Abeed, or Nile of the Negroes.*

The Neel el Abeed rises in Jabowa, forty days' journey from Sego; as also another large river which runs to the westward. After leaving the lake Dibbir, the Neel el Abeed divides into two, the smaller stream running northward of east, near Timbuctoo, and dividing again soon after; one branch running northward by Yahooodee, a place of great trade, where the Moors bought their writing paper; the other branch turning directly east, increasing considerably, and, under the name of Gambaroo, flowing to the lake Caudie.

From the lake Dibber, the larger stream of the Neel el Abeed runs to Kabra, the port of Timbuctoo; and, proceeding to the southward of east, it passes by Uzzalin, Googara, Koolmanna, Gauw, Tokogirri, Askeä, Zabirmi, and Cabi, to Yavorra, about twenty-five days' journey below Timbuctoo. Here is a ferry, passed in travelling from Ashantee to the countries north of the river.

From hence it passes Noofie, or Nyffé; three days farther it passes Boussa [where Park is said to have lost his life]; twelve days from thence it passes Atagara; thirty days farther it flows through the kingdom of Quollaraba [possibly Dar Kulla], which is said to be a powerful kingdom; six days beyond this it passes Mafeegoodoo; and thirteen farther the lake Caudee. This lake is described as an immense water, like a small sea. The Moors called it the Babar el Noä, from a tradition that the waters of the deluge subsided there. It has been called Fittré in our maps. From this lake the Nile of the Blacks pursues its course to the southward of Bagarmie, Kalafarradoo; and Dar Fur, and, lastly, skirts Waddai, and *joins the Nile of Abyssinia.*

That this account of what is called the Niger contains some errors, I have no doubt; but it sets at rest for ever the question concerning the termination of this mysterious river. The accurate author of the Account of Marocco has been laughed at for reporting the voyage of a party of negroes from Jinnie to Cairo; and, if he be of a risible disposition, he may laugh in his turn at a celebrated geographer who refused to let the Niger pass to the sea. All enquiries made at Coomassie ended in making the Nile the continuation of the Niger, as was before asserted by Mr. Jackson.

We will now return to Yahndi, the capital of Dagwumba, and proceed northwards to Houssa.

From Yahndi to Matchaquaw-

die is . . . . . 19 days' journey.

Matchaquawdie to Goo-

rooma . . . . . 6

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Carried over . . . . . 25

Brought over . . .	25 days' journey.
From Goorooma to Deloaë,	
subject to Goorooma	10
Deloaë to the Neel el	
Abeed, which is here .	
two miles broad . .	5
The northern bank of the	
river to Gamhadi .	2
From Gamhadi there are	
three roads to Houssa,	
the first of which is . .	15

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In this route the large river Gambaroo is crossed on the ninth day. The second route is to the eastward, and is circuitous. It goes to Katinnee, a city and state of the Mullowa kingdom, one month from the river. On this road the Gambaroo is crossed on the tenth day. The third route is through the Fillani, or Fullan country, to the kingdom of Kallaghee, fourteen days from the river; the Gambaroo is passed on the tenth day. If to the first of the routes to Houssa the twenty-four days between Coomassie and Yahndi be added, it will make the distance between the former city and Houssa eighty-one days' journey. From Timbuctoo to Houssa is twenty journeys.

The people of Houssa were said to be more ingenious artificers than those of Coomassie.

There was also a route described from Dagwumba to Bernoo.

To Gooroosie . . . . .	2 days' journey.
Zoogoo . . . . .	4
Kingdom of Barragoo .	10
	<hr/>
Carried over . .	16

Brought over . . . 16 days' journey.	
From Toombia . . . . .	8
Goodoobirree . . . . .	3
Kaiama . . . . .	3
Wauwaw . . . . .	4
Neel el Abeed . . . . .	3
Goobirree or Goobur. . .	10
Cashna, cross the Gam- baroo.	8
Dawooraa . . . . .	6
Kanoo . . . . .	4
Wangara . . . . .	9
Bornoo . . . . .	15
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Bornoo was spoken of as the first empire in Africa; Cashna, and the intermediate countries, with many others, being subject to it. Timbuctoo was described as a large city, but inferior to Houssa, and not comparable with Bornoo.

What a spectacle! Here we see the interior of this great continent, impervious to Europeans, traversed in every direction, and by known routes, by its natives! Here we see the immense population that has for ages supplied the West Indies with slaves! Here my intelligence from the south-west meets that from the north-east, and both point out Bornoo as the grand emporium of Africa. Civilization and magnificence probably increase as we advance towards this centre.

Timbuctoo is reckoned a great city, but not a great empire. A small river is said almost to surround it, and to overflow in the rainy season, so as to oblige the inhabitants of the suburbs to take refuge on an eminence in the centre of the town, on which is the residence of the king.

As I was not able to reach Timbuctoo myself, I shall give the following particulars from Jackson's Account of Morocco, as the best account extant of that city. I am aware that it has been disputed, and that it has been termed "extravagant;" disputed as being derived from native Africans; and called extravagant when opposed to another account which is confessed to be "inadequate." As no European has yet been at Timbuctoo, and returned to tell his tale, of whom should we seek information, or from whom could we possibly obtain it, except from such natives of Africa as have seen the place, and resided in it? If I were an Ashantee, and desired a description of London, what better authority could I wish for than that of a London merchant, or of French and Dutch merchants who had resided in London? If the accounts derived from such sources be deemed extravagant, let us candidly wait till others arrive which are not inadequate. I think the profusion of golden ornaments I saw at Coomassie, and the torrents of human blood shed there, are extravagant; yet the facts cannot be questioned for that reason.

The city of Timbuctoo is situated to the north of the Neel el Abeed on a plain, surrounded by sandy hills. The town of Kabra, on the banks of the river, is its port. The houses are spacious, and built on the four sides of a square area, to which all the apartments open. In general they have no upper story. They have no windows; but as the doors are large and lofty, they admit sufficient light. The accommodation for travellers is very simple. Merchants, horses, camels and drivers, repair to a large building called a fondaque, having an open space in the centre, sur-

rounded by small rooms, which open only into it, and are just sufficient to hold a bed and a table. Each merchant hires as many of these as are necessary, till he can provide himself with a house, where he stows his goods, and barter them for the produce of the country.

At Timbuctoo are found Irish and German linens, Italian silks, Venetian beads, cambrics, fine woollen cloths, brass nails, refined sugar, hyson tea, coffee, shawls and sashes of silk and gold from Fas, fine hayks, or upper cloths, from Tafilelt, spices from India, tobacco from Barbary, and salt from the Desert. The various costumes exhibited in the market-places and streets form an interesting picture, and indicate the extensive commercial intercourse of Timbuctoo with the central nations of Africa. The circulating medium at Timbuctoo is gold-dust. A piece of Irish linen of 25 yards sells for about £.16. 10s.

The mines of gold lie to the south of the river, and belong to the king. The persons employed in working them are Bambareen negroes, who are extremely rich in gold; all pieces weighing less than twelve mizans, or about two ounces, being theirs, as the reward of their labour. All above this weight are deposited in one or other of the king's houses, for he has three at Timbuctoo, and these are said to contain an enormous quantity of gold. It is asserted that lumps of pure gold of several ounces weight are constantly found in the mines; and that salt, tobacco, and manufactured brass, often sell at Timbuctoo for their weight in this precious metal.

Many of the civil appointments are filled by Moors of Maroquin origin; the military are black.

The inhabitants possess much of the Arab hospitality, and pride themselves on being attentive to strangers.

The women are extremely handsome, and are guarded with jealous care by their husbands. They are kept in distinct apartments, and never seen by strangers. When they go abroad to visit their female relations, they disguise their persons, and throw their garment over their faces, leaving one eye uncovered to see their way.

The toleration of Timbuctoo is universal. Every one is allowed to worship the great Author of his being according to the religion of his fathers, or his own belief. Robberies and house-breaking are scarcely known. The peaceable inhabitants of the city follow their respective avocations, and interfere with nothing that does not concern them. At eighteen all have wives or concubines; it is disgraceful not to marry early. The Timbuctans who travel invariably return to their country, if insurmountable difficulties do not prevent them.

The climate of Timbuctoo is salubrious. The soil is generally fertile. Coffee and indigo grow wild. Honey and wax are abundant; the Timbuctans eat the one, and make candles of the other.

• The inhabitants of Jinnie are black. They make gold trinkets of such excellent workmanship that it would be difficult to imitate them in England or France; and in these they inclose charms, which have given them the reputation of being expert sorcerers. On this account, no Arab or Moor dares enter the town; but all business between them and the inhabitants is transacted in the adjacent plains.

The people of Houssa have open and noble countenances, prominent noses, and expressive



black eyes. A young girl of Houssa, of exquisite beauty, was sold in Marocco for £.73. 6s. 8d.; when the average price of a slave was about one fourth of that sum.

The people of Wangara are gross and stupid, with large mouths, thick lips, broad flat noses, and heavy eyes. The rings of Wangara are of pure gold, twisted, with an opening to admit the middle cartilage of the nose. They are thrown upwards when the wearers eat, to prevent their coming in contact with the mouth. It is more reputable among them to appear in rags with a nose ring, than in fine clothes without one.

There is a nation many days' journey to the south-east of Timbuctoo who are said to worship the sun, and to abstain from animal food, living wholly on milk and vegetables. One of these people was at Mogador some years ago, and continued his national customs, notwithstanding the flattering invitations of the Mohamedans to change his religion.

About fifteen days' journey east of Timbuctoo is an immense lake called El Bahar Sudan, The Sea of Sudan, the borders of which are inhabited by a people said by the Arabs to resemble the English; to ride on saddles like the English; to wear rowelled spurs like the English, which no other nation in Africa does; and to speak like the whistling of birds, as the Arabs say the English do.

On the sea of Sudan are vessels with decks. In or about the year 1793, these people brought such vessels to Timbuctoo, and transported goods from thence to Jinnie; but as they were ascertained to be neither Arabs, Moors, Negroes, Shellahs, nor Berebbers; and as their boats performed the pas-

sage in half the usual time ; the boatmen of Timbuctoo, with a portion of wisdom that would have done honour to the enlightened boatmen of Europe, represented to the Cadi that their trade would be ruined, if these strangers were permitted to navigate the river. The magistrate, whose wisdom equalled that of the boatmen, ordered the men of the Bahar Sudan out of the country, or as others say, ordered them to be poisoned, and their vessels destroyed. Since this time no vessel of Bahar Sudan has been seen to the westward of its own lake.

The boats are said to have been 70 feet long, and 14 wide, and to have carried 150 or 200 men, and 40 tons of goods. They were rowed by sixteen oars, and a hayk was occasionally spread as a sail, between two oars set upright.

Wiser would the boatmen of Timbuctoo have been if they had learned of the strangers to construct such vessels ; and wiser the cadi, if he had encouraged a competition between them and his own people.

There is no doubt that a water communication exists between Timbuctoo and Cairo. The Africans express their astonishment whenever the Europeans dispute the connection of the two Niles, and assert that it is a folly to dispute what the experience of succeeding ages has proved to be true. But this communication with Egypt and the intermediate countries is not cultivated ; because men imagine that the conveyance by camels is cheaper, more commodious, and more certain ; that is, like all other men, they are the slaves of habit. The difficulties that have been often surmounted, diminish

in size, while those that are little known are magnified.

I shall conclude the subject of Timbuctoo with some questions respecting that city, and answers by the gentleman from whose Account of Marocco the foregoing particulars are taken: only adding my opinion, that, when Timbuctoo shall be fully known to Europeans, his statement will be found generally correct.

“ QUESTIONS transmitted by the Secretary of State to James M. Matra, Esq. British Consul to the Empire of Marocco, and by him transmitted to James Grey Jackson, Merchant, and Agent for Holland, Sweden, Denmark, and America, at Santa Cruz, South Barbary. (March 1795.)

1. What size is Timbuctoo, or Timkitoo?

*Ans.* Twelve English miles in circumference.

2. How are the houses built?

*Ans.* Of stone, and cement of earth.

3. Is the town walled in, and fortified?

*Ans.* It is walled in, and has a dry ditch round it; but no farther fortification.

4. What manufactures are there?

*Ans.* Cotton cloths, made of the cotton of the country, which is very fine, and dyed with indigo, which grows in the neighbourhood, and is equal to that of Guatimala. These cloths are from two to twelve inches wide, and very strong. They are afterwards sewed together so neatly that they appear all one piece, and are highly esteemed at Marocco and at Fas, where the opulent use them as counterpanes for their beds and couches. They

are sometimes interwoven with silk, and with gold thread\*.

5. What is the state of its commerce?

*Ans.* Very extensive with all the states on the Neel el Abeed, as far as Egypt, and with the territories to the south, the south-west, and south-east, with which countries they exchange the goods they receive from Europe through Tunis, Tripoli, Algiers, Fas, and Morocco, for gum Sudan, frankincense of Sudan, ostrich feathers, gold trinkets and ornaments of Jinnie, gold-dust, elephant's teeth, senna, and a variety of drugs and articles for dying.

6. What is the number of its inhabitants, their disposition, and are they negroes?

*Ans.* The population of Timbuctoo is said to be twice that of Rabat, which contains 45,000 inhabitants. The disposition of the natives is philanthropic and hospitable; the higher classes having a remarkable suavity, and polite courteous manner, not known north of the Desert. They are negroes, but king Woolo, who is also a negro, prefers Moors for law officers; and accordingly he has chosen for cadì of the city Seed Abd Allah ben Amgar, an intelligent trader, with whom I have had considerable transactions when he resided at Mogador.

7. How is it governed?

*Ans.* By a bashaw, who is a native, and by a diwan of twelve men called El Alemma.

\* The Editor has seen one of these in the British Museum, which was presented by Mr. Jackson. It is blue and white, chequered like a draught-board, with a few threads of yellow silk, running through the centre of each chequer. In texture and size it resembles a common English counterpane.

8. What extent of territory depends upon it?

*Ans.* Three days' journey east ;

One d° west ;

Seven d° south ;

One d° north.

9. Do they speak Arabic ?

*Ans.* Arabic is spoken in all parts of Africa where there is any commerce ; and the Moors of Fas, who are an intelligent race of men, are to be found wherever there is any traffic ; and the trading people understand the Arabic, which is the general travelling language of this continent : the language of Timbuctoo, however, is Sudanic ; but there are thirty-three distinct languages spoken in Sudan, some of which are altogether different from others.

10. Do they read and write ?

*Ans.* They read and write in Arabic only : they have no other character throughout Sudan that I can discover.

11. At what distance is it from the river ?

*Ans.* Twelve miles.

12. How wide and deep is the river there ?

*Ans.* Four to eight fathoms deep in the middle of the stream, which runs eastward, and very shallow at the sides. The width is about that of the Thames at London.

13. Is the river navigable, and by what kind of craft ; how are they constructed ; do they use sails or oars ?

*Ans.* By boats they navigate to Jinnie in forty days ; but the same boats return in seven days. Some of the boats have sails, square, and carry a hundred negroes. They use paddles, but the bargues with sails use oars.

14. What is the general produce of the soil about Timkitoo?

*Ans.* Gold-dust, and pieces of gold from the mines, cotton, indigo, rice, millet, tobacco, wheat, near the river, and Indian corn, coffee, sugar, and spices, one of which resembles the Brazil nutmeg, and one is called guza saharaine.

15. What is the distance from Timkitoo to Houssa?

*Ans.* Some say twenty, some say twenty-five, and some say thirty days' travelling. The Moors have no definite ideas of distances : some will travel twenty, others thirty, and some forty miles a day ; the distinction is made by calling them long day's, or short day's journeys.

16. What direction does Houssa lay in from Timkitoo?

*Ans.* Easterly, or towards the rising sun, as they express it.

17. Is the journey performed by land, or by water?

*Ans.* By both ; but if by land, with loaded camels, carrying 300 lbs. weight each camel.

18. What is the general face of the country?

*Ans.* From Fas to Taflelt, over the Atlas, is a fine cultivated country. The plain from the Atlas to Taflelt, is an uncultivated and unproductive level. From Taflelt to Draha is a country abounding in dates, with indigo, and corn, near the rivers. From Draha to Akka and Tatta is a fine productive country ; after which the traveller enters Sahara, or the Desert, which continues till he reaches Azewan, after which, twelve or thirteen hours journey, through a partially cultivated country, brings him to Timbuctoo. The face of

the country along the banks of the western Nile to Egypt, are highly cultivated, and very populous and productive. There are some extensive forests. The lands are irrigated by channels cut from the river.

19. How do they behave to strangers?

*Ans.* Very courteously, and with the greatest hospitality.

20. Have the people of Timkitoo a trade with Egypt?

*Ans.* They carry on a considerable trade with Egypt and Abyssinia, and cross the Red Sea to Mocka.

21. Is it possible for one or more Christians to go with the caravans to one or all the territories of Sudan, and if so, what would be the best and safest mode of proceeding?

*Ans.* It would not only be possible, but there would be no difficulty in sending one, or more Christians by the kaffila to Timbuctoo: their return might also be secured by placing him or them under the protection of the Shiek of the Akabba of the Desert, and promising him a liberal reward, provided he brought them back safe. If the Christians were first initiated in the language of the country, and the manners and customs, it would be safer still: but in the latter case they must perform the part of a Muselman, and prostrate themselves to prayers. All this might be effected for a few thousand dollars in the most secure and complete manner.

22 to 29. Apply the seven first questions to Houssa.

30. Apply the ninth question to Houssa, and also the tenth.

*Ans.* Respecting Houssa I have made many enquiries ; but the answers are vague and contradictory ; I must therefore wait till I meet with some of the natives, who are very intelligent negroes, and far superior in intellect to the negroes of Sudan in general. Alkaid L'hassen Ramy, the captain of the guards at Mogador, is a Houssa negro, and a very shrewd, clever man ; I know him well, and he often drank tea with me at Mogador. When I see him, I will get all the information I can from him respecting his native country. He is a very honourable man, and his word may be relied on.

About six months ago I had two negro merchants of Houssa in my house here, who were on their journey to Fas with merchandize, *viz.* gold-dust, gum, and ostrich feathers. The gum and feathers I purchased of them, and the gold-dust they have sold to the Jews here, as the road to Fas was so infested with robbers, that it would have been unsafe to venture ; they therefore returned to Akka, where they will remain till the next akkaba shall depart for Timbuctoo, in September next, or early in October. I am not certain at present whether Houssa is a town, a country, or whether it is a term appropriated to the environs of a country : for I find that the countries of Diminet and Sheshawa, near Marocco, are called Housse Maroksh, and Kitiva and Howara are called Housse Terodant, because they are in the environs of those cities respectively. So Housse, or Houssa, may designate the environs of the Timbuctoo territory ; of this, however, I can say nothing positive ; but I will make every diligent enquiry, and procure the most accurate infor-



mation possible from the natives, and ascertain whether it be a country of itself, or the environs or neighbourhood of the territory of Timbuctoo, or of that of Cashna, which latter empire is called Beb Houssa, i. e. the entrance or gate of Houssa.

N. B. Since writing the above I have ascertained that Houssa is a powerful empire between Cashna and Timbuctoo, and contains seven kingdoms and languages."

After this long excursion we will return towards Ashantee. Hio, whose king sometimes sleeps for ever at the request of his subjects, is seven days' journey from Dahomy. The military are despotic in Hio. They always intercept the new king in the way to his palace, and, before they confirm him in his dignity, they insist upon his naming some neighbouring country for them to invade and plunder. One of their kings having, at the end of three years, sent them on another expedition, without having fulfilled this engagement, they returned victorious, demanded his abdication, and, on his refusal to quit the throne, cut off his head. The country he had named was Dahomy. Conquest seems to advance from the interior, and lay down her arms upon the coast. Dahomy has swallowed up Whydah, and may, in its turn, be devoured by Hio; Ashantee has annihilated Akim, Assin, and Fantee, and may one day fall a prey to some powerful nation behind it. I am grieved to relate that the Mayhees, who so bravely resisted the commands of Bossa Ahadee, have been entirely subdued by the king of Hio, and that upwards of 20,000 of them were brought for sale to Lagos.

The king of Ashantee sent me a large Hio

sheep to look at. It measured  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the head to the insertion of the tail, which was two feet long. The height of the animal was three feet; it was covered with coarse shaggy hair.

The cattle I saw in Ashantee were as large as the English. The horses were like half-bred galloways, and not shod. Some of the Moors rode on oxen with a ring through the nose. The sheep are hairy in Ashantee, and woolly in Dagwumba.

The gnoo, which is found in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, is known in Inta, and, what is very extraordinary, by the same name. Where the beds in Ashantee are not an accumulation of cushions, they are formed of the skin of the gnoo, stretched on a wooden frame, supported by legs, like those of a bedstead.

A fruit called bissey is constantly chewed by the Ashantees, especially when on a journey. It is slightly bitter, aromatic, and astringent, and it is said to prevent hunger and to strengthen the stomach.

The miraculous red berry which gives to acids the flavour of sweets, and makes limes taste like honey, is common in Ashantee.

Gold is found in small pits in Soko, which, with the washings there, is said to amount to from 700 to 2,000 ounces a month. There are daily washings throughout Dankara, and the hills dividing Akim and Assim are very rich in gold.

The thermometer at Coomassie, during my stay there, was from  $80^{\circ}$  to  $85^{\circ}$  in the middle of the day.

I now gave notice of my intended departure, to which the king acceded with the same reluctance I had observed in other African sovereigns, but,

having once named the day, I was determined not to postpone it, and Sai did not urge me to the forfeiture of my word. A strict observance of one's word is necessary to secure the respect of a black man, and I may add that of every white man whose esteem is worth possessing. May we ever guard this title to their respect !

It was night before the ceremony of taking leave was ended, and our exit was a brilliant scene. The king and his captains were seated in a deep and long line without the palace, and their glittering ornaments were reflected by the torches. The darkness of the forest was an awful and instantaneous contrast, and our torches were extinguished in crossing the marsh, which was now between four and five feet deep.

As we returned to Payntree by the way we came, it is unnecessary to detail the particulars of the journey; but there are circumstances in which a black man is superior to a white; and as one of these took place on our return, it is but justice to the black part of my species to relate it.

On the fourth day of our journey we had a short, but most fatiguing march over the mountains which form the boundary between Ashantee and Assin, and we halted at Moisee, the first Assin town, where we were detained till four o'clock in the afternoon. The rainy season had now set in with great violence; the path was almost a continued bog; and the Ashantees who were appointed by the king to conduct and guard me, remonstrated against my travelling any farther that night. I determined to proceed, but I gave them permission to return if they chose it: they had, however, a powerful motive for not choosing it, for

they declared they should lose their heads if they quitted me before my arrival at the coast.

A violent tornado ushered in the night; we could not hear each other holla, and were soon separated; I found I had one person left with me. This man, who was an Ashantee, tied his cloth tight round his middle, and giving me the other end of it, plunged through bogs and rivers, and pulled me after him. The thunder, the darkness, and the howling of the wild beasts were terrible, and a large tree fell near us, with a tremendous crash. The man dragged me after him till I judged it to be midnight; when, quite exhausted, and the remnants of my garments scarcely hanging together, I let go his cloth, and fell asleep on the ground before I could call to him. When I was awakened by my guide, I found myself seated on the trunk of a tree, with my head resting on his shoulder. He made me understand that to sit there was to die, and I again set forward, holding by his cloth. In an hour we forded the last river, which had swollen up to our chins, and spread to a great width. This labour I considered as final; my drowsiness became so fascinating that yielding to it was an exquisite pleasure.

I believe I must have slept more than an hour, when, being awakened, I found I had been carried to a drier part of the forest, and saw my friend standing by me with a companion and a torch. He took me on his back, and in about three quarters of an hour we reached Akrooffroom, where I was carried to a dry and clean apartment, had a brass pan of warm water to wash in, some fruits and palm wine to eat and drink, abundance of the country cloths to clothe me, and an excellent bed

of mats and cushions to repose on. A profuse perspiration relieved me from the perils of the past night; and all my people, under the conduct of different Ashantee guides, arrived in the course of the day.

From Payntree I proceeded to Cape Coast Castle, where I rewarded and dismissed my guides.

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## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### CAPE COAST CASTLE TO SIERRA LEONE.

**CAPE** Coast Castle, the principal establishment of the British on this coast, is about ten miles from Annamaboe, and is in latitude  $5^{\circ} 6'$  north, and longitude  $1^{\circ} 51'$  west. The usual degree of heat in the hottest months is from  $85^{\circ}$  to  $90^{\circ}$ . The castle is built on a rock, and mounts about ninety pieces of cannon, from three to thirty-six pounders. The town is irregular and dirty, the houses are built with clay, and are mostly square. The population may be estimated at 8,000; but, in cases of emergency, 6,000 men might be assembled, by calling in those of the neighbouring villages. The government of the town is under the controul of the elders, or principal men; but the people being chiefly Fantees, they are subject to the Fantee laws and customs.

In all the discussions of the Fantees there is much ambiguity and circumlocution: they do not come to the matter of fact without a display of

great eloquence and natural talents. To behold a Fantee to advantage, he must be seen pleading his cause; when his action is graceful, and suitable to his subject, and his attitudes, and energy of expression, are highly interesting.

The woolly hair of both men and women is cut, or shaved, with great care. Old men shave the whole, except a lock or two behind, to which they suspend a piece of gold. Some of the men allow their beard to grow; others have only whiskers and mustachios. Both men and women have scarifications on the cheek-bones and on the back of the neck. They wash their bodies twice a day.

The dress of both sexes is nearly the same, and consists principally of a piece of cloth about four yards long and two wide. When they are unemployed, the men wrap it loosely about them; when engaged in any occupation, part of it is folded round the waist, and the remainder hangs down, and covers the lower part of the body. The women fasten the garment round the waist by a girdle; and this is supported behind by folds of cloth, which form a protuberance proportioned to the age and rank of the lady. In front, a woman of fashion has a number of silver keys suspended from her girdle, the sound of which announces her approach at some distance. Bracelets are worn of gold and beads, and strings of beads are worn round the neck.

The principal food of the Fantees at Cape Coast Castle is fish or poultry made into soup; palm oil, salt, and eschalots, are added, and the whole is highly seasoned with pepper. Into a bowl of this, each person dips either bread, which is made of

maize, and unleavened, or pudding made of yams or plantains.

The first wife has the sole management of domestic affairs. Mothers have the disposal of their daughters; and after a stipulated sum has been received, the young lady is dressed in rich clothes, ornamented with valuable beads, and conducted by her female relations to the house of her husband, where she is received with ceremony by his relations and friends. On the following day she has numerous visitors. She must continue to wear her rich habiliments for a week, and must shew herself in public, which denotes that she has a husband. The younger wives are watched with vigilance by the first wife, who is well rewarded for any discovery she may make of their infidelity. On such an occasion they are tried by the taking of doom; and if their innocence be proved by the strength of their stomach, or the weakness of the potion; their skin is covered with chalk, they are habited in white, and shew themselves in public with these attestations of their chastity.

The Fantees bury the dead in their houses, and will not move from the spot if they can help it. The Hottentots and Caffers, as has been before related, think death contaminates a whole village, and they remove the corpse to a distance. If a Fantee die insolvent, the body cannot be buried till the debts are discharged.

Causes are tried and determined by the pynins, or elders of the people; but if the loser be not satisfied, he may appeal to the governor of the fort, or the elders of another town. No corporeal punishments are inflicted; the alternative is a fine or slavery: but murder is scarcely heard of, and theft,

among themselves, is rarely known. An article may be left in a public road, safe from the depredations of persons in the neighbourhood.

The next place I visited was Elmina, the head quarters of the Dutch settlements in this country, and the most respectable fortress on the Gold Coast. It is about eight or nine miles from Cape Coast Castle; is of a quadrangular form, and surrounded with high walls, on which are mounted brass ordnance.

I made few observations here. The town is large and dirty; the houses are connected in a confused manner, though some of them are built with stone. It is supposed to contain 5,000 men, and double this number of women and children; the inhabitants, as might be expected in a town attached to a European establishment, are negro-traders, trade boys, or brokers, fishermen and servants. There are also some respectable mulattoes, who have masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths among the number of their slaves.

I saw here eight leopards which had been brought up so tame that they were played with like dogs; but it was observed in all of them, that their savage nature returned upon one occasion or other, and that they were not to be trusted without great circumspection.

About sixty-five miles from Elmina, passing by many smaller European settlements, I came to that of Axim, a settlement of the Dutch, which stands on Cape Three Points, in the country of Ahanta. This country is bounded inland by the countries of Warsaw and Dankara, and, like them, is said to be rich in gold; but the mines are con-



cealed from the Europeans. A king is acknowledged in the country, but the power is in the hands of the great men. The men of Ahanta are well disposed, and the women are in a continual state of employment.

The people of Ahanta were formerly oppressed by an insatiable demon who was a giant, with one side of his body sound, and the other decayed, and they believed, that whosoever he touched with the bad side died immediately. They placed troughs, and pots filled with victuals in the way of this being, to keep him at a wholesome distance from their persons. Whether their intercourse with Europeans may have delivered them from the persecution of the giant; or whether they may have found insatiable oppressors in these visitors, my short stay did not permit me to discover.

Whoever killed a leopard or panther in the country of Ahanta, was privileged to seize all the palm wine that came to market during eight days, and to pass that time with the negroes, who crowded about him, in shooting, leaping, dancing, and public mirth.

The last settlement on the Gold Coast is that of Apollonia, about thirty miles to the westward of Axim. The fort is English, and is situated about a hundred yards from the sea, in a spacious plain, which extends about three miles inland. At the extremity of this is a fine lake, about six miles in circumference, and very deep, on which is placed a small village. The houses are erected on piles, and are distinct from each other, and the only communication with the land is by canoes.

The lake affords fish, and the inhabitants cultivate a small spot of ground on its borders.

The sea breaks with such violence on the coast of Apollonia, that it cannot be approached without the utmost danger. The canoes are formed of the trunk of the silk cotton tree. This wood is easily worked when green, and is almost as light as cork when dry. The country, which is called *Amarhea*, may extend about a hundred miles along the coast, and about twenty inland.

The natives are in general tall and well made, and are not distinguished by thick lips and flat noses. Their dress consists of a cloth, wrapped loosely about the body, and another folded about the loins. In addition to these, the women wear bracelets, ornaments round the neck, and brass rings encircling the heel and foot. The houses are of bamboo, plastered with a strong loamy clay; the floors are of the same sort of clay, and are remarkably hard. The towns and villages are generally surrounded with a strong fence of bamboo cane, as a security against ferocious animals.

The king, in person, tries and passes judgment on persons accused of crime; but he is sometimes assisted in his judgment by the bitter potion. When he walks out in public, he is attended by a full band of horns, drums, and flutes, the music of which is not inharmonious. The sister's son is here heir to the throne.

In the year 1800, when the king of Apollonia died, one or two human beings were sacrificed every Saturday, till the grand ceremony of *making custom* took place, which was not till six months after his decease! On that occasion upwards of fifty persons were sacrificed, and two of the king's

youngest wives were put into the grave.' The lid of the coffin was covered with human blood, gold-dust was sprinkled over it, and a number of rich cloths were deposited in the grave. Great cruelty is practised on the men and animals slain on these occasions.

The general appearance of the Gold Coast from the sea is that of an immense forest, with high lands in different directions, crowned with trees and covered with underwood.

The negroes of the Gold Coast have a great turn for oratory, and on occasions where they display all their eloquence, they speak with much feeling and energy. They rigidly observe certain days of the week so far as regards a cessation from labour. Fishermen will not cast their nets on a Tuesday; others will not work on a Friday; and persons in easy circumstances observe the day of the week on which they were born.

A piece of carved wood, besmeared with the yolk of an egg or palm oil, is held in as great veneration in these countries, as the image of the Virgin Mary in the catholic countries of Europe.

I shall close this account of the inhabitants of the Gold Coast with some particulars relating to them, as they stood at the end of the seventeenth century.

There were five degrees of men: first, kings; second, caboceros, whose province it was to guard the welfare of a particular town, and suppress any tumult; third, persons of property, acquired either by trade or inheritance; fourth, people employed in agriculture or fishing; fifth, slaves, purchased or taken in war.

The first negro salutation was, "How did you

sleep?" The reply was, "Very well; how did you sleep?" When a negro received a visit, he bade his friend welcome; and as soon as the compliments were over, the wife, or a female slave, brought water to wash, and fat to grease, the stranger.

Negroes never begged. If they could not subsist, they bound themselves, for a certain sum of money, to work for a master, who provided them with necessaries, and exacted from them a reasonable portion of labour. Negroes, in general, were soldiers while a war continued; that ended, they returned to their respective occupations. If any were of so turbulent a disposition that they could not rest, they served in one of the neighbouring wars.

Each man married as many wives as he pleased, and could support; the kings had often a thousand; the general number was from three to ten; that of the great seldom exceeded twenty. Those who were rich had two wives exempt from labour; the first married, who had the controul of household affairs, and the command over the others; and the second, who was called Bossum, the name of their divinity, and was consecrated to him. The others tilled the ground, and provided in various ways for the husband by hard labour, while he passed his time in eating, drinking, and conversing with his neighbours.

Negroes smoked tobacco in pipes about six feet long, made of reeds, to one end of which was fixed an earthen, or a stone bowl, which rested on the ground. Into this they put two or three handfuls of tobacco, and they smoked till all was consumed. Both men and women were so attached to this

custom, that they would suffer hunger rather than be without it, and spend their last penny in tobacco, rather than bread.

The habit of the richer negroes on the Gold Coast was a paan, or cloth, four or five yards in length, of velvet, silk, or cloth, thrown about the body, and rolled up, so as to reach from the waist half way down the legs. On their arms they wore rings of ivory, gold, or silver; round their necks, chains or strings of gold and coral. Some of these strings were valued at 50, 100, sterling. Gold amulets were worn in the hair. The caboceros, or elders, were plainly habited, wearing only a good paan, or deer-skin cap, and a string of coral round the head. The common people wore an ell or two of meaner stuff.

Ladies dressed their hair artfully, intermixing it with coral and amulets of gold; and they wore so many strings of gold, coral, and other ornamental substances, that, from the neck to the waist they needed no other covering. A profusion of these were also worn on the arms and legs, intermixed with rings of gold, silver, and ivory. The paan was adorned with gold or silver lace, and was frequently three times as long as that of the men. It was wound round the waist, and fastened by a girdle about half an ell broad and two ells long, the two ends of which hung down over the paan, or petticoat. Over the shoulders was thrown a mantle of silk, or some other fine stuff. A black beauty thus arrayed, must have been a most elegant and interesting object.

As soon as an infant was born, the fetishman, or priest, wrapped strings of coral, or other materials, round its body, limbs, and head. These

were supposed to possess the power of securing it from sickness and accidents ; and the child had no other clothing till it were seven or eight years of age, when a small covering was added.

The common food of the negroes of the Gold Coast was millet boiled to the consistence of bread, or yams, or potatoes ; which were seasoned with palm oil and boiled herbs, and eaten with fish. Oxen, sheep, and poultry were eaten on great occasions.

\* Distant relations assembled from all quarters to be present at the funeral rites. The wives of the deceased shaved their heads close, smeared their bodies with white earth, put on a worn-out garment, and ran howling about the streets like furies, repeating the name of their late husband, and reciting the great actions of his past life. The nearest relatives sat by the corpse, making lamentations. The town's people and acquaintance brought presents of gold, cloth, brandy, &c. and joined the doleful cry. During the ingress and egress of all sorts of people, brandy in a morning, and palm wine in an evening, were liberally dealt.

When these ceremonies had lasted one, two, or three days, the body was richly clothed and put into a coffin, with fine cloths, costly corals, gold charms, and other valuable articles, for the use of the deceased. The corpse was then carried to the grave, preceded by a number of young men, running, loading, and discharging their buckets, and followed by a confused multitude of men and women.

As soon as the body was deposited in the earth, the house of mourning became a house of feasting.

and revelry, where people, ate, drank, and were merry for several days successively.

When a king, or a very great man died, the body was sometimes laid on a utensil like a grid-iron, dried slowly over a gentle fire, and kept, till it were convenient to make the funeral custom, even if it were a year. Public notice of the day of interment being given, an incredible number of people, habited as richly as possible, arrived at the spot; not of that nation only, but those of other countries, desirous to see the spectacle. At such funerals, several slaves of the deceased were sacrificed, to serve him in the other world, as was also the wife dedicated to his fetish: several wretched men, who through age, or inability were not fit for labour, were bought on purpose to be victims. These miserable creatures underwent a thousand deaths, being killed by hacking, piercing, and tormenting. The human sacrifices were prevented near the European settlements; but the negroes there privately withdrew to distant places to perform them.

When the body of a negro could not possibly be conveyed to his own country for interment, his head, one arm, and one leg, were cut off; and after being cleansed and prepared, were sent there by his friends or acquaintance, and buried with the accustomed solemnities.

Every town had one or two officers whose business it was to proclaim the orders of the chief; to proclaim things lost or stolen; to moderate the voices of the council when disputes ran high, or debates became confused. This he performed by repeating the word, Tie-tie, hearken, from which

the name of his office was taken. The Tie-ties were also public messengers to either the friends or enemies of the state : and a cap made of the skin of a long-haired ape, which was worn by them only, was a passport through an enemy's country. They carried in their hand a bundle of fine rushes, and the hair of the elephant's tail, with which, when they were not otherwise employed, they drove the flies from the face of the chief.

The arms of the negroes were, European muskets, which they got in exchange for their gold, and which they handled with wonderful dexterity, discharging them sitting, creeping, and lying down ; a kind of sword, or chopping-knife, about eight or ten inches broad at the extremity, and four at the handle, and about two feet long ; and the hassagay, a long and slender spear, which they threw with the right hand. They had bows and arrows, the latter pointed with iron, and having feathers at the head ; but these were not in general use along the coast. The swords had an ornamented wooden guard : or, among people of condition, thin plates of gold. The sheath was of leather, and from it was suspended the head of a leopard, or a red shell, both of which were considered as very valuable. The military cap was made of the crocodile's skin, and adorned on each side with a red shell, and behind, with a quantity of horse-hair. In battle, the paan was brought between the legs, that it might not impede them when running. When they darted the hassagay, they covered their bodies with a shield four or five feet long, and three broad, which they carried on the left arm ; it was made of oziers, and covered with leopard's skin, gilt leather, or some



other material. The negro struck with his sabre, or darted his hassagay, while he varied his attitude, and played with his shield, so that it was difficult to wound him.

Negroes were not easily prevailed upon to work for Europeans. For themselves they manufactured earthen vessels, bowls and troughs of wood, mats, copper boxes for ointment, arm-rings of gold, silver, and ivory, all their instruments of husbandry, and all their weapons of war, except muskets. They made fetishes of gold, cast in moulds of black earth, and gold and silver hat-bands for the Europeans, the thread and texture of which were so fine, that it would not have been easy for a European artificer to imitate them.

The evil spirit was annually banished all their towns by a ceremony which consisted of singing, dancing, jumping, drinking, and full liberty of speech, during seven days; and on the morning of the eighth day a universal cry was made by the inhabitants, and each threw sticks, stones, and dirt as fast as he could take them up; running after the imaginary demon, who was supposed to be fleeing before them. When they had driven him to a convenient distance from the town, they all returned, the women scoured their wooden and earthen vessels, and the community was freed from his attack for another year. This ceremony took place in a hundred towns and villages on the coast, on the same day.

The negroes farther inland had lucky and unlucky days; and on the latter they remained in a state of absolute idleness; thus rendering their imaginations fact.

The apes of this country are nearly five feet

high, bold and mischievous ; and the notion that they can speak, but will not, lest they should be made to work, is universal. All monkeys are dextrous thieves. In stealing the large millet, they take one or two stalks in each paw, as many under each arm, if the fore legs may be so called, and two or three in their mouths ; and, thus laden, they march off, leaping on their hind legs. If they are pursued, they drop all the booty, except the portion which they carry in their mouths, that it may not retard their flight. But this is less extraordinary than their discrimination of the millet, every stalk of which is nicely examined when they have plucked it ; and if they do not like it, they throw it away, and pluck another.

Ants on the Gold Coast will attack a living sheep in the night, and leave it a clean and perfect skeleton before morning. As soon as one of them assaults a rat, he is inevitably gone ; for, in attempting to escape, he is attacked by another and another, on his way, till he is overpowered, and conveyed by numbers to a place where they can devour him in safety. If these insects have not a language, they have at least, a method of communicating intelligence to each other. I have seen one or two, which, having discovered a worm or beetle, have immediately departed, and returned in a minute, bringing with them a hundred of their fellows ; if these were not sufficient, more were called ; and when they had secured their prey, they marched off with it in good order, assisting each other in the removal of the burthen. The white ants will eat their way through a thick wooden chest in one night, and make it as full of holes as if it had been pierced with hail shot. T

I have had frequent occasion to mention palm wine and oil, and I shall now give some account of various uses of the tree that produces them, the number of which is, perhaps, not surpassed by any thing in the vegetable creation.

The leaves are manufactured into ropes, nets, and other things. The nut, when young, is roasted and eaten ; when old, it contains the palm oil, which is expressed like that of olives ; when the oil is extracted, the pulp is considered by the negroes as a delicacy, and when it becomes too stale for this purpose, it is excellent to fatten hogs. The tree is then bereft of all its branches, which serve for fences, coverings of houses, &c. and when it has remained a few days in this state, a small hole is made in the trunk, into which is inserted a reed. Through this pipe the liquor called palm wine drops slowly into a vessel placed below to receive it. Scarcely two quarts issue from one tree during twenty-four hours ; but the tree continues dropping twenty or thirty days. The last drop of moisture being forced out, by a fire kindled at the bottom, the life and the usefulness of the tree end together, except that its trunk serves for fuel. The wine, when drank fresh, or as the phrase is here, *under the tree*, is a pleasant beverage ; but it is so strong that it speedily intoxicates.

The stalk of the large millet grows eight or ten feet high, and on one stalk grow one, two, three, and sometimes four ears of corn, each containing from three to four hundred grains. A thousand stalks yield commonly about five bushels of corn. The millet is sown and reaped twice in the year ; but the latter crop is small.

I now quitted the Gold Coast, and proceeding

westward, I touched at the negro town called Corby la Hou, situated on the Ivory Coast; it was large and very populous. The men load their legs with thick iron rings; and the greater a man's quality, the greater the load he carries. I saw some persons of such distinction that they had upwards of sixty pounds weight of iron on one leg. This seems to be one of the most burdensome of the caprices of fashion. Very fine cloths, composed of six stripes each, are manufactured here. If the father be a weaver, a fisherman, or any other occupation, the son is brought up to the same. They are such expert divers, that if a string of coral be thrown into the sea when they are on board a vessel, they will jump into the water, and bring it up.

Passing Cape Palmas, I came to the Grain Coast, so named, not from the abundance of edible grain it produces, though rice, in particular, is very plentiful, but from the abundance of the Malaguetta pepper, known in England by the name of Grains of Paradise. I anchored off the town of Fettra Kroo, the principal town of the Kroomen, which is situated in about 5° north latitude, and 7° 48' west longitude. There are five other towns in the territory.

The Kroomen are tall, well made, muscular and active. They hire themselves as labourers at Sierra Leone, which is about 350 miles from their country; and they are to be found as traders, sailors, factors, and interpreters, at every village and factory in the intermediate space. The washerwomen at Sierra Leone have lately employed their hired Kroomen to carry baskets of wet clothes from the brook. They feel the indignity,

and say, "Man should not be made to do woman's work;" but as they are paid, they submit. The men employed at a distance from their country, are seldom less than fifteen years of age, or more than forty; those who remain at home cultivate the ground, fish, and sometimes fight; "but Kroomen," as they say, "not like to fight against Kroomen."

In the year 1809, the number of Kroomen at Sierra Leone amounted to eight hundred. They live upon a little rice, and convert the greater part of their wages into such goods as are most valuable in their own country. In a year and a half, or two years, a sufficient stock is collected, and the Krooman returns home with his wealth. A certain portion of it is given to the head man of the town; his mother, if she be living, has a handsome present; and all his relations and friends are partakers of his riches, if there be but a leaf of tobacco for each. This liberality is displayed to "get him a good name." What remains of his fortune is given to his father to "buy him a wife;" and after a few months indulgence at home, he sets out again for Sierra Leone, or one of the factories on the coast, to labour for more money.

By this time the Krooman is proud of being acquainted with "white man's fashion," and takes with him some raw youth, whom he initiates into the mystery of his calling, and of whose labour he shares the profit: and when he has amassed another fortune, he again returns home; confirms his former good name by additional presents, and engages his father to buy him another wife. In this manner he goes on for ten or twelve years; scarcely appropriating a particle of his earnings to

his own use; but increasing his reputation, and the number of his wives. I heard of one Krooman who was so rich as to buy two wives at once, and whose father had in the whole eighteen.

It is universally admitted by them that, if a Krooman were to learn to read and write, he would be put to death on his return to his own country. Premiums have been proposed to Kroomen, if they would settle at Sierra Leone; but distinction, power, and respect, among their countrymen, are to them all that is honourable and desirable; take these incitements from them, and you take away their motive for industry and self-denial.

The untaught Krooman does not take the property of others; those who have lived long among Europeans do; but it is difficult to detect a thief; for any one will suffer in his own person, rather than bear testimony against another. They plead in their own defence with much art. A thief, whose guilt was evident, made a long speech to the governor of Sierra Leone, on his trial, in which he expressed his sorrow that the governor was not born a Krooman; and enlarged upon the superior ability he would then have possessed to distinguish between truth and falsehood where Kroomen were concerned; he did not forget to mention the security against deception he might in that case have obtained, by means of fetishes, of which, he said, white men knew neither the value nor the use.

From Fettra Kroo, I went to a village, on the Rio Sestro, close to the shore, containing about sixty houses, raised two or three feet from the

ground, the ascent to which was by a short ladder. The houses were neatly built, and had upper stories. The Sestro is a fine river ; its banks are wooded and full of villages. That of the king is situated about three miles from the mouth. I found this monarch, if such he may be called, sitting on his heels, on a fine mat, in a large semi-circular building entered by a ladder, and appropriated to public business. He was an elderly, silver-haired man, dressed in a frock of white cotton, curiously embroidered with worsted of different colours. On his head was a tall cap, like a mitre, composed of osiers, and adorned with ram's horns, porcupine's tails, and gree-grees, as amulets are called here. Round his neck was a string of knotted rushes, from which were suspended two kid's horns ; his hair was also twisted into tufts, resembling horns, which here were the prevailing symbol of dignity. He was attended by about twenty of his counsellors, who sat on his right and left, dressed in frocks, but bare-headed. How far the power of this simple sovereign extended I know not ; but he was courteous, and amiable, and lived among his people like the careful and affectionate father of a large family.

The people here are strong and laborious. They cultivate the ground, and make weapons and knives. Their canoes are neatly ornamented ; their malaguetta is sold in large baskets made of bulrushes. Women never eat with their husbands, or children with their parents : the husband eats first, then the wife, then the children.

When I had been treated with hospitality by the chief, all his people offered me their houses ;

but I found it impossible to remain in any one of them a quarter of an hour, on account of the heat and smoke. Negroes, in general, keep up a small fire during the night, and sleep with their feet near it; a custom, which, though it throw them in a bath, I believe contributes to their health, by correcting the humidity of the air. The climate here is moist, hot, and unwholesome.

I had an opportunity of witnessing the funeral ceremonies of these people. An old woman dying, the corpse was laid out, and covered with a cloth, and all the inhabitants of the village arranged themselves in order round it, each holding a few banana leaves, to shade it from the sun. The men then, in a distracted manner, ran howling about the house of the deceased, while the women sat round the body and joined in the horrid discord. When this had continued twenty-four hours, the body was placed in a coffin with a pot of rice, and another of palm wine, and the coffin was put in a canoe, and carried by ten stout young men to the river, to be transported to the place of the old woman's nativity; each person being, if possible, buried where he was born.

In three days the friends and relations returned, bringing with them a sheep and a quantity of palm wine for the funeral feast. I was invited to join them; and, as I happened to be hungry, I ate and drank with them as long as any mutton or wine remained; I then retired, thinking I had been very hospitably entertained. But it appeared that I had literally reckoned without my hosts; for the next morning I was waited on by the whole company, and each demanded a particular



present ; so that when I had satisfied them, I found I had defrayed the whole expence of the feast. A Dutch trader, on such an occasion, made a memorandum in his pocket-book never to accept an invitation to an old woman's funeral.

When a man of consequence is interred, a male slave and a female, after being well fed, are put, in a standing posture, into two holes, dug for that purpose, near the grave, their heads only appearing above the ground. The deceased is then requested to accept of them, and the two heads are struck off and placed in the grave, one on each side of the coffin. Four kids, or sheep, killed on the spot, pots of rice and of palm wine, and various fruits, are added ; and the dead person is entreated to make use of these on his journey, if he should be hungry or thirsty. These people consider death only as the passage to a better life.

According to my own ideas, nothing but murder or self-defence can be a sufficient reason for the taking away human life ; but among men who believe that, by sacrificing slaves, they are introducing them to a better state of servitude, under a happier master, the sacrifice admits of some extenuation.

From Rio Sestro, I sailed to Cape Mezurado, the termination of the Grain Coast, where I landed, and saw three villages, consisting of about twenty houses each. Each house contained three neat apartments, and was inhabited by from fifty to sixty persons of both sexes and all ages. The women were handsome, and, as the men informed me, were permitted to be very civil to white men for money. The river Mezurado, is about a hun-

dred and twenty yards broad at its mouth. It is navigable for boats about forty miles ; a little beyond this there are falls that prevent further navigation. The country between Cape Palmas and Cape Mezurado is supposed to contain upwards of fifty negro villages. The extent is more than twenty-five leagues.

Leaving Cape Mezurado, I sailed to Cape Monte. As soon as I landed, the whole shore was covered with black men, who welcomed me, and conducted me to their houses. The king, or rather chief, seemed to rank with the chief of Rio Sestro, and resided in a village about three miles up the river, with four hundred of his wives and children.

The inhabitants cultivate rice, millet, yams, and potatoes, and boil salt for their king, whose slaves they are. Each man has as many wives as he can maintain, and in increasing their number, increases that of his labourers. I enquired respecting their religion, and was told that it consisted in reverencing and obeying the king, without troubling themselves with what was above them. I enquired concerning their wars, and was informed that they were not often troubled with them, for when any dispute happened, they rather chose to end it amicably than come to blows. They appeared also to live peaceably with their wives, and not to trouble themselves with their familiarity with white men.

The people in the vicinity of Cape Monte name their children when they are ten days old. On such an occasion, all the inhabitants of a village assemble ; and, as is not unfrequent, when a village assembles, a great noise is made. If the infant

be a boy, he is laid upon a shield, and a small bow is put into his hand by the officiating person ; who wishes that he may soon be like his father, an industrious man, a good builder, a good husbandman, to get rice to entertain those who may come to visit him ; that he may not be a drunkard, or a gormandizer, or covet his neighbour's wife. If the infant be a girl, she is laid on a mat, and a little staff is put into her hand. She is exhorted to be industrious, cleanly, chaste, a good cook, and a dutiful wife, so that her husband may love her above all his other wives. After these wishes and admonitions are ended, the child is named, and returned to its mother, and the ceremony concludes with a feast. If these people have not much religion, they have some morality ; and if they are not warlike, they have some good sense. I am sorry to add, that human sacrifices are not unknown among them.

When a great man dies, the hair is dressed, and the body finely clothed and set upright, being supported by props. The relations and friends kneel round it, with their backs to the corpse, and shoot their arrows, as they call it, "round the world," to signify that they are ready to revenge the deceased on any person who may speak ill of him, or who may have been the cause of his death. Women and slaves are strangled to attend him in the other world, and are put into the grave with some necessary utensils, such as kettles, bowls, and mats. When the king is supposed to be dying, many persons hide their daughters ; while those who attend the sick monarch endeavour to conceal his situation, that the people may not abscond. When the absentees return, they are

reproached with cowardice, and told it was unreasonable to have eaten the bread of their lord, and to have refused to die with him. These reasonable persons imagine that a whole body is a better servant than a head only ; the victims therefore are sent entire to the grave ; they also imagine that a well fed body makes a better servant than one with an empty stomach ; the victims therefore are compelled to eat heartily before they are sacrificed.

The men of Cape Monte wear the Sudan shirt with wide sleeves ; the women have only a cloth wound round the waist, and hanging to the knees.

I now proceeded to the river Sherbro, near the mouth of which are two small islands, besides the large one called Sherbro, which is about forty-five miles from east to west, and about fifteen from north to south. The inhabitants of Sherbro are Bulloms ; but as I shall particularly describe the manners and customs of these people when I come to Sierra Leone, I shall only mention a few of their peculiarities.

The men clear a fresh plantation every year, during which time the women are employed in making salt. When the wood is cut and burnt, the women and the young people perform the rest of the labour. The people are kind to each other, and if strangers go among them, they give them water to wash, oil to anoint their skins, provisions to eat, and will quit their own beds to lodge them. They will pass the day in looking for palm wine, and the night in dancing. They have fat sheep and goats, abundance of fowls, ducks, and geese, and they can raise any quantity of rice they please. They do not salt their meat, but dry it.

over a fire. The coffee tree grows wild in the countries adjoining the Sherbro, but the inhabitants are ignorant of its value.

The most enviable ornament for a child is a leopard's tooth suspended from the wrist. This is a badge of freedom, and cannot be worn by the child of a slave.

Among the Bulloms of Sherbro there are itinerant masters in the art of dancing, who are dressed in the most extravagant manner. On their heads they wear a monstrous fabric of bamboo, adorned with feathers; on their legs a number of iron rings that jingle as the wearer moves; the rest of their clothing is a petticoat of grass. When one of these men comes into a town, the young women form a ring around him; while he throws himself into a variety of the most fatiguing attitudes, till the perspiration streams from every part of his body, and he is quite exhausted.

The chiefs of Sherbro accuse their wives of being witches when they begin to grow rather elderly, even if they have brought them children, to make room for younger women. The number of their wives is from ten to thirty.

On the death of a great man the women shave their heads, and inflict wounds on their arms, breasts, and backs. Both men and women dance night and day during the funeral cry, and drink as much rum as they can get. On such an occasion eight or nine puncheons are drank, guns are fired, and two or four people are sacrificed.

From Sherbro I entered the river of Sierra Leone, and took up my lodging at Freetown, an establishment of my countrymen.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

## SIERRA LEONE.

**T**HE river of Sierra Leone, or Mitomba, as it is called by the negroes, is about fifteen miles wide at its mouth, which lies in  $8^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude, and  $18^{\circ} 43'$  west longitude. Six miles above, the river is six or seven miles in breadth, which it continues to be nearly twenty miles farther, where it divides into two large branches called Port Lago and Rokelle river. Before this it had received a small branch on the north, called Bullom river, and a larger on the south called the Bunch. The air on the coast is so humid that salt and sugar can scarcely be kept in a dry state; and a thick bar of iron that has lain on the ground five or six years may be easily broken to pieces with the hand. The mean degree of heat at Freetown is  $84^{\circ}$ ; but in the months of July, August, and September, it is sometimes above 100.

Freetown is situated on an elevated spot, on the southern side of the river, about six miles from its mouth, and contains about four hundred houses built with wood, with a church, an hospital, a store-house, and a house for the governor. It were greatly to be wished that a colony established for such noble purposes as those of abolishing the slave trade, and civilizing black men, should answer the ends proposed; but perhaps it is not in the nature of things that it should do so to any extent; perhaps the manners of black men are

assimilated to their climate, and are in some degree inseparable from it ; and perhaps the fatal influence of the climate on Europeans may proceed from the dissimilarity of their habits. In a word, it might be as easy to wash black men white, as to produce any general change in them, and as easy to extirpate them as either.

I went up the river of Sierra Leone as far as its junction with the Bunch ; and having ascended this about three miles, I arrived at the small island of Gambia. From hence I sent my compliments to Panaboora Forbanna, king of the Timmanees, a people who inhabit the southern side of the river. The length of his little kingdom was thirty-six miles, and its breadth about ten ; but he was a good king, and beloved by his subjects. He owed to them his crown, which was only a cap of blue cloth, and his throne, which was nothing but a straw mat.

At ten o'clock the next morning Forbanna and his wife, attended by four of the principal men, came in a canoe to visit me. The canoe was fourteen feet long, and was paddled by twelve men. At dinner I placed the king next to myself; he requested a chair for the lady ; but he had it placed on his left, and a little behind his own. I ordered her a plate, which she placed on her knees, and the king shared with her all that was given him. I had prepared a dish of rice, dressed in the negro manner, by steam, and mixed with pieces of fish and poultry : this Forbanna thought delicious. If a negro have been feasted with every delicacy a European can here place on his table, and rice constitute no part of the entertainment, he will say he has had no meat. Roast meat the king did

not like ; salt meat he ate with great relish, and bread in great quantity. The lady ate a considerable quantity of sugar ; they both drank wine, though sparingly.

After dinner I presented his majesty with a complete suit of scarlet cloth, richly laced with gold, a shirt and neckcloth trimmed with broad lace, an enormous cocked hat with a red feather, red stockings, shoes with red heels and large silver buckles, to these I added a large sword with a wrought silver handle, and a cane four feet and a half long, with a prodigious silver head. To his wife I gave some amber and agate, some cloves and glass trinkets, and a piece of gauze striped with blue silk.

At sight of these royal robes, Forbanna could not contain his satisfaction, and his wife was quite overpowered. She clapped her hands, exclaiming, "atot, atot, mungo oonifera !" — bravo, bravo, white king ! and, eager to see her husband in this magnificent dress, she divested him of his cap, and two pieces of cotton, which formed the whole of his apparel, except a third piece which hung from his waist to the middle of the thigh. She then put on the scarlet coat and waistcoat, considering, probably, that shirt, breeches, shoes, and stockings, might form a state habiliment of themselves. Her husband put on the hat, crossed the sword-belt over his shoulders, and held the cane in his hand.

Forbanna, king as he was, and a good king, was neither young nor handsome ; and it was not a little ludicrous to see his majestic gravity in his new robes, while his dusky body was exposed through the opening of his waistcoat, and his consort walked round him with unbounded admiration.



The next day I returned the visit of Forbanna, and found him seated on a mat before the door of his house, with his legs crossed, and his knees erect, surrounded by his wives, children, and a number of his subjects, and receiving from every one some testimony of respect or affection.

The king of Timmanee had only five wives in addition to his first, and each had a hut within the royal inclosure, and a separate household. They all made it their particular study to cultivate the affection of the king, as the means of augmenting their fortunes, which at best are very limited; for when one of these ladies is in possession of a field of a few acres, some slaves of both sexes, a few household utensils, a dozen pieces of cotton, some gold rings for her ears, arms and legs, and five or six ounces of gold in reserve, she is considered as a very opulent and distinguished woman.

As a contrast to the mild government of the king of the Timmanees, I shall give some account of one of the most detestable species of tyranny that ever was imposed upon misguided man.

Between the rivers of Sherbro and Sierra Leone are five tribes of Bulloms, who have formed a confederacy called purra. Each tribe has a council, consisting of twenty-five persons; from each of these are taken the five eldest, who jointly compose the grand council, and these elect a chief, or head purra man from among themselves. To obtain admission into the purra of his tribe, a man must be under the responsibility of such of his friends as are already members, who swear to put him to death if he shrink under the ceremonies of initiation, or reveal the secrets of the institution after.

In every district within the limits of this association there is a sacred wood to which the candidate is conducted. It is difficult to say, and dangerous to enquire, what passes here; it is said that the novice is not to speak, and if he attempts to penetrate the wood, he dies. After some months' probation, he is admitted to the trials. It is said, that upon these occasions the sacred woods resound with mournful howlings, and that during the night immense flames are seen to rise: it is certain that any person whom curiosity tempted to enter the wood would be sacrificed, and that some who have entered it have never been heard of more.

The purra of a tribe judges and punishes within its own district; the grand purra assembles only to judge of differences between the tribes, and to punish delinquents of its own order. The supreme tribunal examines which tribe was the aggressor, and sentences the guilty to be pillaged during four days. The warriors of the purra depart at midnight, armed with daggers, their faces covered with hideous masks, bearing lighted torches in their hands, and divided into parties of forty, fifty, or sixty each. They arrive before day in the territory they are about to pillage, and proclaim with a dreadful voice the decree of the purra. At their approach, men, women, and children, fly before them, and shut themselves up in their houses: should any one be met in the fields, roads, or streets, he would never be heard of after.

The pillage is divided into two equal parts, one of which is given to the injured tribe, the other to the purra.

When any family among the tribes becomes too powerful, the grand purra condemns it to a sudden nocturnal pillage : if the chiefs resist, they are carried into the mysterious wood, and, in general, they appear no more. The obscurity which covers this extraordinary institution is impenetrable, and the terror it inspires is indescribable. One maxim is, I think, incontrovertible, when applied to governments ; Truth fears no examination,—where there is secrecy there is deceit.

The warriors of the purra are supposed to amount to 6,000. The members understand each other by certain words and signs. The institution does not extend so far north as Sierra Leone, the natives of which regard it with horror, and never speak of it without evident marks of apprehension.

Among the Timmanees there is an institution which probably had its origin in the slave trade, and is scarcely less hateful than the purra ; it regards females only. An old woman, called Boondoo woman, is its sole superintendant ; and its object is to extract from the unfortunate females, who are placed there by their fathers or husbands, a full confession of every crime they may have been guilty of themselves, or have been privy to in others. On their admission they are smeared over with white clay, and solemnly adjured to make the desired confession. If the boondoo woman be satisfied with the confession of any individual, she is dismissed ; if this inquisitor be dissatisfied, she administers a draught of water in which some leaves have been infused ; and if the supposed culprit feel, as it is likely she may, some pain in the stomach or bowels after this potion, she is accused

of any crime the old hag may please to fix upon. If she confess it, she is sold ; if she persist in denying it, she dies, and no one knows how.

I saw a woman at Freetown who had been confined in the boondoo, and had made her escape. She said that, having been affected with a pain in her stomach, in consequence of having drank the infusion, the boondoo woman accused her of having, by witchcraft, killed Pa Bunky, a chief who had died four years before, and having afterwards taken up his body, and eaten it; and that, trembling between slavery and instant death, she had confessed the crime. At Freetown, however, she declared that Pa Bunky's blood did not live in her belly, and that she only wished for an opportunity of drinking the red water, to prove her innocence. She had not the least suspicion of deceit or villainy in the boondoo woman.

When the red water is to be administered, the supposed culprit is obliged to fast twelve hours, and then swallow a little rice. A calabash, containing about half a pint of the red water, is presented to him with many ceremonies, and he is made to pronounce an imprecation upon himself if he be guilty. He empties the calabash eight, ten, or twelve times successively, as quick as it can be filled. He now commonly begins to vomit; but he must continue to drink till the whole of the rice he swallowed lie on some plantain leaves that are placed on the ground before him. This is his acquittal. The number of calabashes given may not exceed sixteen, and some persons have died after drinking four. When this infusion acts as a purgative, it is termed "spoiling the red water," and the accused is sold for a slave, or if he be too old

to sell, or if he die under the operation, one of his family is taken and sold, unless he can redeem himself by substituting a slave in his place. If an opportunity do not occur soon of taking one of the family, the affair is remembered; and I knew an instance of a young man being sold for a slave, because his grandmother had spoiled the red water many years before he was born.

The natives of these countries are in general well formed; their skins are sleek and soft, and cooler than those of Europeans in the same climate. Those in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone are usually above the middle size, well proportioned, sprightly, and of an open countenance. The manners of the females, particularly the young ones, are easy, and not devoid of grace. They are, in general, remarkable for the beautiful contour of their limbs, the fine shape of their bosoms, their large and expressive eyes, and their open and ingenuous countenances. The frankness of their manners is tempered with a timidity towards strangers, which renders them still more interesting. These people have no other mode of expressing that an object is beautiful than by saying it is good: they call a handsome woman a good woman, and a pretty child a good child.

Negro children at their birth are nearly as fair as Europeans, and do not acquire their proper colour till several days after; the palms of the hands, and the soles of the feet, retain their first colour through life. Sickness changes the skin to a paler or lighter hue. The eye is invariably black. The hair is shorter, finer, blacker, more elastic, and more crisp, than that of a European. Some negroes have hair six or eight inches in length.

Their hair turns white sooner than that of Europeans; but even old people are rarely bald. Among the Foolahs, whom commerce or curiosity had brought to the settlement of Sierra Leone, I saw a young man whose features were exactly of the Grecian mould, and whose person might have afforded to the statuary a model of the Apollo Belvidere.

The dress of the Timmanees, who inhabit the south, and the Bulloms who inhabit the north side of the river Sierra Leone, is such as has been often described, the wide cotton shirt for the men, and the cotton cloth, forming a petticoat, for the women, with a second cloth thrown occasionally over the shoulders. The ornaments are beads, coral, gold, and silver, in the ears, and round the neck, large silver rings upon the arms, and small bells at the ancles. The dress of the men is not complete unless it be laden with gree-grees. Children go entirely naked till two or three years of age; but their hair is neatly plaited, and a string of beads, coral, or a piece of European silver coin is hung round, or suspended from the neck, ancles, or wrists. From this time till they are married, the girls wear a narrow piece of cloth, the ends of which hang down behind and before, nearly to the feet; the dress of the boys is the same, except that the ends do not hang loose. In mourning, the women lay aside the garment of the matron, and resume that of the maiden. They so cover the face with a kind of white night-cap, that they can see only their feet, unless they throw the head very far back. To take off this cap would occasion a serious palaver, as it is allowed to be taken

off only by the head man of the village. Two or three rows of large white cowries are worn round the neck, and in some parts of the country it is customary to whiten the face, neck, shoulders, and legs. The same occasion that clothes the European in black covers the negro with white.

Both men and women have their hair plaited and braided in a variety of forms, and with great neatness. Before the men set out on a journey, their wives pass several hours in dressing their hair, which is done so closely and exactly as to retain its form for two or three weeks. The women ornament their foreheads with squares, triangles, and other figures of blue, red, or white paint. They bestow great attention upon their persons, washing themselves several times in the day, and anointing themselves daily with palm oil, to preserve the velvet softness and smoothness of their skins. They are also tattooed.

The negroes expose the head, uncovered, to the perpendicular rays of a scorching sun, during the greatest bodily exertions, with perfect impunity; and children, not a month old, sleep quietly on the backs of their mothers, in the full glare of sunshine.

In the choice of a spot to build a town, the first object of the Timmanees and Bulloms is security; for often have the unsuspecting inhabitants of towns been seized and hurried away to slavery. On this account they clear no more ground than is necessary for the houses to stand upon, and are thus buried in a thick wood. The approach to the town is by one or more narrow footpaths, scarcely perceptible, which are carried in a wind-

ing direction round the place ; so that when a stranger arrive within a few yards of the town, he may imagine himself at a distance from any human habitation. The villages on the coast seldom consist of more than forty or fifty houses ; but as we advance inland they become larger. They commonly form a circle, inclosing an area, in the midst of which is placed the palaver-house, or town-hall. The towns take their names from local circumstances, or remarkable occurrences. One of the Bullom towns is called Matcha, No-path ; another Yella, Surrounded-with-water ; another Pek-ken-tyeng, Elephant-broke-wood-there. The houses are sometimes square, but mostly circular, and it is seldom that the house consists of more than one apartment ; sometimes, however, the space is divided in two by a partition of wattled sticks covered with clay, that rises the height of the walls. A space of about a foot is left open all round between the top of the wall and the bottom of the roof, to admit the air. The roof is conical, and covered with thatch, which projects a few feet beyond the building, and forms a sort of piazza. Under the shade of this the negro swings in his hammock, or reclines on mats spread on a bank of earth, about a foot and a half high, and two or three feet broad, which runs round the outside of the house, except at the entrances ; these are generally two, opposite each other.

The entrance of a house is seldom closed by any thing but a mat, which is occasionally let down, and is a sufficient barrier against all intruders. The most intimate friend will not presume to lift up the mat, unless his salutation be returned: even



a husband dares not enter his own house when the mat is down, if his wife pronounce the word *moo-rádee*, I am busy.

The burree, or town-house, has no walls. A number of strong posts support the roof, which has a floor of bamboo sticks laid close together that serves as a public granary for rice. A bank of mud forms a seat round the building. Some of these houses are large enough to contain two or three hundred people. Here, as in other parts of Africa, all public business is transacted; here the inhabitants meet to converse, and here strangers station themselves till a lodging be provided for them. Every contract is made at the burree; and even children are required to be present, that they may be evidences of the transaction when the present generation of men shall have passed away.

The most ingenious man in a Timmanee or Bulom village is usually blacksmith, joiner, architect, and weaver. The employments of the others are clearing a piece of ground for a rice plantation, building or repairing their houses, shooting, or fishing. Much of their time is taken up in settling disputes, which they call talking palavers; and much is passed in listless indolence, reclining upon mats, or sleeping in the shade. In their endeavours to obtain tobacco and rum, the luxuries they have been taught by Europeans to value, no toil is thought too severe. They make fine cotton cloths of a variety of patterns, six or seven inches wide, and four or five feet in length. Seven of these are joined to make a piece for a woman.

During the heat of the day an African village is in general silent, but no sooner does the air begin

to cool than fresh vigour animates the people, and it resounds with drums and dancing.

The young men in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone are universally fond of exhibiting their great agility; and many of them are very expert in vaulting, tumbling, and performing somersaults. The people are also fond of listening to histories and fables, in doing which they will frequently pass a great part of the night. I shall give two of these, as a specimen of their powers of invention, and manner of relating their stories.

“ An elephant and a goat once disputed which could eat the most, and to determine the matter, they went into a meadow ‘ as big as from here to white man’s country.’ After they had eaten some time, the goat lay down upon a rock to chew the cud. ‘ What are you doing?’ said the elephant to him. ‘ I am eating this rock,’ replied the goat, ‘ and when I have done I will eat you.’ The elephant, terrified at this unexpected threat, ran away; *and since that time he has never dared to enter a town in which there was a goat.*”

“ A man and his wife, with their spoiled child, were travelling through a thick wood, when they saw a gourd lying near the path: the child cried for it; the father took it up; and they pursued their journey. Soon after, a spirit called Min, to whom the gourd belonged, awoke from his sleep, and being thirsty, he seeks for his gourd bottle. Not finding it, he sings the following couplet two or three times over, in a plaintive tone of voice, and this, as well as the others, is so sung by the relator of the story. ‘ Where are you my gourd? Why have you gone away, and left me thus alone?’ The gourd replies, ‘ I have not run away from

you, O Min; but have been carried off against my will,' The man, alarmed by the song of the gourd, throws it down, and, with his wife and child, endeavours to make his escape. Min, following the direction of the sound, arrives at the spot where the gourd is lying, and takes it up. He sings, 'Where is the wretch who stole my gourd? I will wreak my vengeance on his guilty head.' Still singing, he sets out in pursuit of him, and the child answers, 'It was I.' The mother drops the child, Min seizes it, and destroys it. He repeats his song, and the mother says, 'It was I.' In a fit of despair, her husband stabs her. Min finds the body, but again repeats his song, and the man is obliged to confess the fact: he attempts to elude the search of his dreadful adversary by concealing himself in the bushes; but he is soon discovered, and sacrificed to the resentment of Min."

I think the woman must have played the part of Eve in this story, or she could not justly have incurred the displeasure of the spirit: its moral, however, is obvious; we ought not to gratify the unreasonable desires of children.

Among the Timmanees and Bulloms the regal dignity continues in the same family; but the head men of the country are at liberty to nominate any individual of that family, however distantly related to the deceased king. These men are regarded with the highest veneration by their immediate dependants, and often present a very striking resemblance of the patriarchs by their hoary heads and snowy beards.

The Europeans have taught the negroes their vices. On the coast they are frequently shrewd and artful, and sometimes malevolent and perfid-

dious. Their long connexion with European slave traders has tutored them in the arts of deceit ; so that false weights and measures, damaged goods, and the various cheats of European cunning, are now immediately detected by them. As we advance into the country, the natives are more simple in their manners, more devoid of art, and more free from suspicion. They are in general of mild dispositions, but they possess a great share of pride, and are easily affected by an insult. They cannot even hear a harsh expression, or a raised tone of voice, without shewing that they feel it. One of the severest insults that can be offered to a negro is to speak disrespectfully of his mother, which he calls cursing her. "Strike me," he says, "but do not curse my mother!" The respect they pay to the aged is very great: the title of pa or ma, father or mother, is prefixed to the name of an old person to denote reverence.

In travelling through many parts of the country, when overpowered with heat, fatigue, or hunger, I have ever met with an hospitable reception at the villages of the Timmanees and Bulloms. Mats have been brought for me to repose on ; if it were a meal time, I was at liberty to partake, or to wait till something better could be provided ; if it were night, a hut has been set apart for me, and a guide has been offered me in the morning. The entrance into one of these towns presents a pleasing picture of the manners of black men. As soon as a stranger is observed, all the inhabitants hasten to shake him by the hand, pronouncing several times the word, welcome: even the children, who can barely lisp a welcome, hold out their little hands with a smile, and are delighted if the stranger

notice them, The usual salutation of the Bulloms to each other is, "Are you come?" and if they dislike their visitor, they say, "You have not been long away."

It has been said that the mental faculties open early, and decline rapidly in hot climates; but this is not the case on the western coast of Africa. The orators there are, in general, men who have passed the prime of life; but they are often very successful in exciting the passions, by their bold and figurative language, which flows in torrents, and is sometimes such as would not disgrace the pen of an eastern poet. Even when the discourse is vapid, and full of tiresome repetitions, it is delivered with force and energy, and often with considerable vehemence of tone and gesticulation.

The religion of the Timmanees and Bulloms is such as has often been described in the course of my travels; a belief in the Supreme Author of all things, too good to do harm, therefore not needing to be supplicated; in a number of inferior mischievous beings, inhabiting rocks, woods, and waters, whose evil intentions they avert by sacrifices, the best part, however, of which they eat themselves; and, inferior to these, in a kind of tutelary spirits, that reside in or near their towns. They imagine that witches, when they die, appear again in the form of a pigmy race, like our fairies, and that, divested of their former malignity, they quit their retreats at night, and join the revels of the people.

In the mountains of Sierra Leone I have seen many temples erected to the devil, consisting of trunks of trees planted in a circular form, with a

roof of branches covered with leaves. In the middle of the circle was a square table, or altar, filled with offerings; and the pillars of these rude edifices were ornamented with sacrifices and oblations.

When the nations in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone go to war with each other, they endeavour to strike terror into their enemies by dressing themselves in the most hideous manner they can devise. Some whiten the body, and make the face still blacker than nature has done it; others paint the knees and elbows with red; all are armed with a load of gree-grees, of the most grotesque forms. They do not approve of European tactics, and they laugh when they are told that men stand still to be shot at. When opposite parties meet, which is not often the case, they shelter themselves behind trees, and practice what is called bush-fighting.

Mania is a disease I never heard of among the negroes, nor could I make them comprehend the meaning of the term. They had no other idea of it than that of *losing their head*, as they call it, by intoxication. They are very subject to a species of lethargy, which they are much afraid of, as it proves fatal in every instance. At the commencement of the disease the patient has commonly a ravenous appetite, eats twice the quantity he has done in health, and becomes very fat. As the disease advances, the appetite declines, and the patient wastes away. The disposition to sleep is so powerful, that it scarcely leaves intervals for eating; and the repeated application of the whip, a remedy which unhappily has often been tried, is hardly sufficient to keep the poor creature awake.

Human sacrifices, which I have traced from Angola to the Sherbro, are not known here. When a Timmanee or Bullom dies, the corpse is interrogated. If old, it is asked, Was your death caused by God on account of your great age and infirmities? If young, Was it because God liked to take you? Was it caused by your bad actions? (meaning on account of your being a witch.) Was it caused by a man, or a woman, in such a town, or in such a family? The body during its interrogation is laid on a kind of bier, which is placed on the heads of two men, and its answer in the affirmative to any one of these questions is signified by its impelling the bearers towards the person who asks them. The negative is given by a rolling motion.

When any person of consequence is taken sick, he is removed to another town, to be at a distance from the effects of the witchcraft under which he is supposed to be suffering. If he do not then recover, a hut is built in the deepest recesses of the wood, whither he is carried, his asylum being known only to his most confidential friends. During his last illness, the late king, Naimbanna, was removed from his own house on the island of Robanna to a small island a few miles distant. A semicircular piece of ground was cleared from the underwood, the larger trees being left standing; and the only avenue to the place was defended by the most potent fetishes that could be procured. A hut about eight or ten feet square, neatly woven like a basket, but not so closely as to exclude the light, was erected, and a fetish was placed near it. The old king was laid within it, on mats spread on the ground, surrounded by his own family; and

by his side stood the physician, holding in his hand a fetish about four feet long, of a very uncouth form, ornamented with bells and pieces of iron, which he occasionally jingled with much noise and self complacency. Notwithstanding this powerful application, the good old Naimbanna died soon after, greatly and deservedly regretted.

The professions of medicine and conjuration are inseparable, and the people are firmly persuaded that every person who practises the healing art holds converse with evil spirits, and can enforce their obedience. These men have even pretended to extract the bottom of a quart bottle from the sides of their patients, and assured them it was conveyed thither by some unfriendly witch, and had been the cause of their pain. The Timmanees and Bulloms are of opinion that, by possessing a part of the body of a person who has been successful in his undertakings, they shall inherit a portion of his good fortune. The body of a mulatto chief on the Bananas, an island at the mouth of the Sherbro, was obliged to be interred privately, lest it should have been converted into fetishes.

A few old rags placed upon an orange tree will generally secure the fruit as effectually, as the dragons did the fruit of former times; but when any person be taken ill, though it be at the distance of several months, if he recollect having *taken fruit softly*, he imagines that the fetish has caught him, and that he cannot recover till he have made a recompence to the owner.

Children are often buried in the houses of their parents: people of consequence are generally buried in the palaver-house; but every village or



town that has been long established has a common burying-place in its vicinity. The "cry," or mourning for great people, is sometimes continued for months. During the day, the mourners sleep, or pursue their different avocations; in the evening, they return, and they pass the night in mourning; that is, shouting, dancing, drinking, and firing muskets. The chief magnificence of the funerals consists in the quantity of rum and tobacco expended on the occasion. The funeral ceremony of the distinguished Mulatto above mentioned, did not take place till three years after the body was interred; and during that time a bed was kept constantly prepared for him in the palaver-house, water was placed near the bed side to wash his hands, and meat for him to eat. Upwards of twenty puncheons of rum, and a large quantity of tobacco were consumed at the funeral cry.

A head man called king Jemmy, who resided within a mile of the settlement, died while I remained at Sierra Leone. The body was placed in the palaver-house, of his town, and a message was sent to the governor of the colony, requesting him to help the people to cry for king Jemmy. The governor sent an officer to cry in his stead, and I, among others, was present at the ceremony. The corpse being placed by the side of the grave, a number of questions were put to it; after which, Pa Demba, a neighbouring head man, addressed the deceased as if he were still capable of understanding him; expressing his great sorrow at having lost so good a father; saying that he and all the people had wished him to stay with them; but that as he had thought proper to leave them, they could not help it, and they wished him well.

Others of the head men addressed the deceased in a similar manner. When the speeches were finished, the person who represented the governor was asked if he would not shake king Jemmy by the hand ; and requesting an explanation, he was desired to " say a prayer, white man's fashion." The pillow, the neck-handkerchief, and the umbrella of the deceased were put into the grave with him, " because he liked them ;" and his wife, who stood sorrowing by, with his hat in her hand, was going to put that in also ; but was prevented by Pa Demba, who probably reserved it for his own use. Several pieces of kola were deposited in the grave for king Jemmy to eat, and when it was closed, the women began a howl which continued till after we had left the town.

The Timmanees and Bulloms never boil milk, lest it should occasion the cow that gave it to become dry ; or throw the rind of an orange in the fire, lest the remainder of the fruit should fall from the tree.

The kola is the produce of a large and beautiful tree. Seven or eight kernels, of the size and shape of a chesnut, are included in a large thick, green capsule. It is astringent, and of a pleasant bitter taste. Kola is presented to the guests in visits of ceremony and friendship, and considered as a mark of great politeness ; it forms a part of every valuable present, and is the token of amity or hostility between nations. Two white kolas announce peace and a continuance of friendship ; two red ones are considered as an indication of war.

Ground-nuts are inclosed in a shell like that of an almond, which fruit they a little resemble in

flavour. They are produced at the extremity of the root, as the potatoe; the leaf is like that of clover, and the plant is propagated from the kernels.

The butter tree is a remarkable production of this country. The fruit is large, and contains three or four seeds, each about the size of a walnut. These are first dried, then parched, then bruised in a mortar. They are afterwards boiled in water, and, as the oil rises to the surface, it is skimmed off, and poured into a hole dug in the ground, which is lined with a clean cotton cloth. Through this the water passes, and in it the butter remains, which is nearly as firm as cheese, as white as chalk, and pleasant to the taste. It is made both by Timmanees and Bulloms.

The Japanzee, or Chimpanzee, is common in the mountains, and seems more nearly related to the human species than even the ourang-outang: when at his full growth he is nearly five feet in height. One of these, when young, was brought alive into the colony. He was nearly two feet high, and covered with black hair, which was long and thick on the back, short and thin on the breast and belly. His face was bare; his head and hands resembled those of an old black man, except that the hairs on his head were straight. At first he crawled on all fours, always walking on the outside of his hands; but when grown larger he endeavoured to go erect, supporting himself by a stick which he carried in his hand. He ate, drank, slept, and sat at table like a human being. He seemed of a melancholy disposition, probably from his being thrown out of his native sphere of action; but he was good-natured, and never offered any person an injury.

The largest snake yet discovered here was eighteen feet in length.

The gall of the alligator is considered by the natives of Sierra Leone as one of the most active and fatal of poisons ; but it is chiefly used in magical ceremonies, and the composition of fetishes. If a person kill an alligator, he must have the testimony of at least two respectable witnesses to prove that he poured the gall upon the ground, or he is liable to be severely punished.

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## CHAPTER XXX.

### SIERRA LEONE TO TEEMBO, AND RETURN TO SIERRA LEONE.

I NOW quitted Sierra Leone on an expedition to Teembo, the capital of the Foola kingdom, and proceeding by sea to the Rio Nunez, I sailed a few leagues up the Rio Pongas, as it lay in my way. The people in the vicinity of this river had a number of holes bored in the outer circle of the ear, each containing six or eight small rings. In undress these holes are filled with pegs of wood. The custom of bringing the fore-teeth to a sharp point generally prevails here ; the Bulloms and Timmanees practice it less frequently, and the Foolahs not at all.

The mouth of the Nunez is about six miles in breadth. About one hundred and fifty miles above it are yet to be seen many ruins, and ves-

tiges of Portuguese establishments, formed on the first discovery of the country ; and many of the descendants of these people are still living among the black men, and are become black themselves.

I sailed up the Nunez as far as Kacundy, which is about seventy miles from its mouth ; the river is navigable for large ships to this place. Between Kacundy on the Rio Nunez and Bulola on the Rio Grande, there is a frequent communication by land, as the two rivers here approach near to each other.

A remarkable circumstance happened at Kacundy a short time before. A leopard, one night, broke into the house of a Mr. Pierce ; went up stairs into a chamber where seven children were sleeping ; seized a large dog that was in the room ; walked down the way he had come ; passed a sow, with a litter of pigs in the court, without molesting them ; and marched off with the dog in his jaws ; to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, who rejoiced that his choice had not fallen on any other individual \*.

Having obtained guides at Kacundy, I began my journey on foot, travelling in an easterly direction. It soon appeared that a great commercial intercourse was carried on between the Foolahs and the upper parts of the Rio Nunez, for we frequently met five or six hundred of these people in one day,

\* This circumstance is taken from a letter written by a private soldier under the command of Major Peddie, dated Kacundy, Dec. 17, 1816. He adds, " We expect to march in the course of a fortnight, and when we arrive at Timbuctoo I will write to you again." A letter dated Kaya, on the Gambia, March 19, 1818, says, " We are waiting for the dry season, when we shall start again." A letter from a friend, dated Sierra Leone, Feb. 24, 1819, informs the father of the death of his son.

carrying on their backs loads of rice and ivory, which they were going to exchange for salt. As we proceeded, we found a number of successive towns, generally at the distance of six, eight, or ten miles from each other, in which we were always most hospitably received. The utmost surprise and satisfaction were expressed at the appearance of white men, none of whom had been seen before, even at the distance of a few days' journey from the coast.

After travelling sixteen days, through a country sometimes barren, and at other times fruitful, and after passing two or three small rivers, we arrived at the town of Laby, which is distant about two hundred miles from Kacundy, and almost directly east of that place. Here we were most cordially received by the chief, or king, who is subordinate to the king of the Foolahs.

Laby is about two miles and a half in circumference, and is supposed to contain not fewer than 5,000 inhabitants. From Laby we proceeded towards Teembo, which is seventy-two miles farther inland; and having continued to experience the same hospitality, we arrived there in seven days.

The soil of Foota Jallon is dry, and frequently stoney; about one third of the country is said to be extremely fertile. Rice is cultivated, chiefly by the labour of the women; but the men, a great proportion of whom are slaves, perform the office of beasts of burden, and carry away the produce on their backs. Each town and village has its public plantation; but, in addition to this, every individual is allowed to cultivate as much land as he

pleases for his private use; and many of the Foolahs who have a number of slaves may be said to occupy farms. They have made such progress in agriculture that, before the time of sowing, they collect the weeds and burn them, and mixing the ashes with the dung of their cattle, they hoe them into the ground. In our journey to Teembo we several times saw herds of more than a hundred head of cattle each. I purchased a common fowl for two beads, and a sheep, for a goat, or forty.

The Fooa country is in general hilly, particularly about Teembo; the land is cleared of wood, and well cultivated, and the water is excellent. Paper, which was so damp on the Rio Nunez that it would scarcely bear ink, became hard and dry before we reached Teembo; and tobacco leaves which we carried with us, crumbled to powder, though they were frequently wetted. The nights and mornings were sometimes cold, and the thermometer was once as low as 51° at half past five in the morning, though it rose to near 90° at noon.

As we advanced into the interior, we found the houses, though of the same form, larger, and constructed with greater neatness and solidity than among the Timmanees and Bulloms. The walls were ten or twelve feet high, and the houses from twenty to thirty feet in diameter. They were generally built with bricks about twelve inches long, eight inches wide, and four inches thick, dried in the sun; with a thin layer of mud or clay between each row of bricks. A raised bank of earth ran all round the wall on the inside, on which the family sat by day, and slept by night; and this, together with the wall and floor,

was covered with a very hard and smooth plaster. The mosques were of a square form, and loftier than the houses, and the roofs projected about fifteen feet beyond the top of the wall, and formed a shade to a very pleasant walk below.

The towns of Foota are much larger than those in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone. Teembo, the capital, is said to contain 8,000 inhabitants. Each family inhabits a distinct inclosure, and a number of these form narrow streets, or lanes. The towns are surrounded either by a lofty palisade of bamboos, or by a wall of bricks hardened in the sun, with a sloping thatched roof over it, to defend it from the weather. The entrance is commonly through a porch or gateway, which is carefully shut at night.

Square forts are often erected to guard the towns from sudden assaults. The walls of these are built with the same sort of bricks as the houses; but they are six feet in thickness, and strengthened with beams of timber; they are also surrounded by a deep and wide ditch, and have a tower at each angle, with loop-holes to fire through.

I saw a large tower at Teembo which had been erected by the father of the present king, and was now going to decay, though it was still used as a granary. This sovereign had been victorious over nations "towards the rising and the setting sun;" but his town was surprised and burnt by his enemies, and this fort was built to prevent the recurrence of such a calamity.

I had many conversations with Al Mami Sadoo, king of Foota Jallon, and with several of his



principal officers, during my stay at Teembo ; and in the course of these I understood that no Foolah was ever sold as a slave, either for debt or crime ; but that the Foolahs, who are Mohamedans, made no scruple of going to war with their pagan neighbours, for the express purpose of procuring slaves for sale. I received a visit one morning from the officer who performs the regal functions in the absence of the king, and this great man told me, without disguise, that they could not get European goods without slaves ; that they could not get slaves without war ; and that they, who prayed five times a day, had a right to make war upon those who never prayed at all, for the purpose of procuring guns, powder, and cloth, which they considered as necessities.

The following day I visited one of the head men, who had desired to see me. I found him writing ; but he laid aside his occupation on my entrance. I introduced the subject of the slave trade. He said that their book desired them to make war on every nation that would not do God service. I replied, that God was, himself, so good and merciful, that he must ever be displeased with those who were cruel and unjust. " If," said the head man, " we could get the articles we want without going to war, I would believe that going to war was offensive to God ; but if we cannot get these things without going to war for them, God cannot be angry with us for going to war ; especially as it is so in our book."

The vilest sophistry is convincing when it sanctions our interest. There is a book in which it is said, " Whatsoever ye would that men should do to

you, do ye even so to them ;” yet there is no sort of persecution that the pretended followers of this book have not practised under the pretext of its authority.

The head-man added, that the captives of both sexes, who were too old to be saleable, had their throats cut ; and when I expressed my detestation of this barbarity, he said it was more merciful than to suffer them to perish with hunger.

I remember that the book above quoted says, “ Judge not, that ye be not judged ;” and I will not dare to disobey its precept ; otherwise I should judge that the Europeans, who were the primary cause of these wars and these massacres, must meet with some condemnation.

One of the most amiable chiefs in the Foolah country allowed the Christian religion, as I described it to him, to be good in many respects ; but he objected to the doctrine of the forgiveness of injuries, saying that it was a virtue not to be attained by man, and therefore not to be required of him.

Though the Foolahs are rigidly tenacious of the dogmas of their prophet, they are highly gratified by having passages in the Bible pointed out to them that bear a similitude to those of the Koran. I have seen many of them listen with deep attention, and great pleasure, to various passages of our Scriptures, when translated to them by an interpreter. The king told me, several times, that he had a very important question to ask, which he must defer to a more private opportunity. At length, after obliging every person to quit the room, he asked me what was the name of the mother of Moses !

Writing constitutes one of the chief amusements of the Mohamedan nations ; they are anxious to excel in it, and many of them write Arabic with great expedition and tolerable elegance. They procure paper from the Europeans, they write with a reed, and here they make an excellent durable ink, of a dark purple colour, from the leaves of a tree called bullanta. A large snail-shell is their inkstand, and, like us, they absorb the ink with a little cotton. They set a high value upon some of their manuscripts. An old man, who had a small quarto book containing extracts from the Koran, very neatly written, and ornamented with views of the Caaba, at Mecca, refused to sell it for eight slaves. It must be owned, however, that it had another value besides its intrinsic one ; it had, as the owner said, " walked to Mecca."

The Foolahs have founded many colonies which have risen to kingdoms. One of these is that of the Soosoos, through which I passed on my return from Teembo to Sierra Leone ; another is on the borders of the Senegal, and extends nearly 390 miles along its shores ; but the principal nation of the Foolahs, and the one properly so called, is that of which Teembo is the capital, and which bears the name of Foota Jallon. The country subject to the king of the Foolahs is about 350 miles in length from east to west, and about 200 miles in breadth from north to south.

The king is arbitrary, and the punishments he inflicts are severe. He opens and shuts the markets, and channels of trade, at his pleasure.

The head man of a village claims as much rice from the general stock, as, poured over his head, while he stands erect, will reach up to his mouth ;

and this quantity is scarcely adequate to the expence of entertaining strangers, which he is subjected to by his office.

The Foolahs are very fine men, robust, courageous, and formidable to their neighbours. They travel, in the capacity of merchants, throughout the Gulph of Guinea. Their colour is a reddish black, their features are regular, their hair is longer and not so woolly as that of the common negroes. The women are handsome and sprightly.

The dress of the Foolahs and Mohamedans in general, is a wide shirt resembling a surplice, of white, or sometimes blue cotton; very wide drawers, reaching a little below the knee; sandals; and a red or blue woollen cap. If a man have two patches of red cloth set upon the drawers behind, in the bend of the knees, and a cotton cloth rolled round the bottom of the cap, he assumes an air of conscious superiority. The silver ornaments worn by some of the chief women were said to be of twenty pounds value.

No woman eats with her husband; she eats what he has left. I asked a Foolah woman of some consequence, and much good sense, whose husband had four wives, the greatest number his religion allowed him, if she did not wish she were his only wife. "No," she replied, "I am not company for my husband; and I should be at a loss for amusement, if it were not for the company of his other wives." Women suckle their children till they can bring them a calabash full of water. Where polygamy prevails, a son has a greater affection for his mother than his father. I have often been delighted with the strength and tender-

ness of the attachment subsisting between mothers and their sons.

The Foolahs, in common with all the followers of Mohamed, affect a serious disposition. Riding on horseback is their favourite exercise, and I was invited by the king to be a spectator of a kind of horse-race, or course. Notwithstanding the country is mountainous and the roads are very rough, the Foolahs never shoe their horses. Many of the Foolahs pride themselves on their literary acquirements, and pass much time in reading, writing, and collating manuscripts, the subjects of which are generally either divinity or law. There are schools for the instruction of children in almost every town, and the art of reading is common throughout the country.

Africa is peopled by three distinct classes of men, independent of the Egyptians and Abyssinians, the latter of whom are not indigenous, and the former may perhaps be traced to the blacks of Nubia. The first class includes the Hottentots, Bosjesmans, and Caffers, who occupy the southern part of this continent, and rank the lowest in civilization. The second class is composed of the Negroes, who form a broad belt across the centre of Africa, and rise higher in the scale of society. The third class comprehends the Moors and Arabs, who are, to a man, followers of Mohamed.

The conduct of the Moors forms a singular page in the annals of mankind. They continually encroach upon the negroes, without exterminating them, without apparently diminishing their numbers; they gain an absolute ascendancy over them, without using the sword that their prophet has put into their hands: and by what means? — by

means of letters. They have riches, honour, and power given them by the pagans, because they can write; and they convert whole nations to their religion because they can write, and teach them to write also. If it be asked why Europeans have not met with the same success, I answer that their doctrines are more hostile to the habits of the negroes, and less accommodating to their prejudices.

The negroes on the coast believe "all white man witch, and all white man rogue;" and they have not imbibed these notions without some experience of white man's cunning and knavery. The Moors have persuaded the negroes that the gree-grees they purchase of them, are a defence not only against witchcraft, but against all other evils, except sickness and death.

The Christian will tell a native chief that, of his six wives, he must put away five, because it is a sin to have more than one. This will certainly astonish the chief, but it will not induce him to part with his wives. He cannot comprehend the idea that the word sin is intended to convey; but he knows that it is, and ever has been, the custom in his country for a man to have as many wives as he can maintain, and that his consequence increases in proportion to the number. The Mohamedan will say to the negro chief, "Keep your six wives, but let the two last be called concubines."

The Christian, if he be a very zealous one, may tell the negro, that if he do not believe such and such doctrines, he will be plunged after death into everlasting fire. The negro cannot believe what he cannot comprehend; but he perfectly under-

stands the nature of fire, and prefers the paradise of Mohamed, and the company of everlastingly beautiful females, which are promised him by the Moor, on the simple conditions of praying five times a day, and abstaining from pork which he does not wish for, and brandy which he has not got.

I have been led insensibly into this digression, when I intended only to enumerate the three distinct classes of Africans, and to remark that it was curious to observe the change in the character and occupations of the negroes, produced by the Moorish influence, in this, the first nation I met with in Western Africa, to which it had been extended.

The Foolahs and Mandingoes hold spirituous liquors in such abhorrence, that, if a single drop were to fall upon their garment, they would not wear it till it were washed; and a Foolah being asked what was the greatest crime he could commit, replied, "The eating of pork, particularly if it were the flesh of a boar."

Dancing was formerly practiced at Teeimbo; but, in the reign of the late king's father, the slaves revolted while their masters were dancing; and since that period no one has ventured to dance in the capital; though the amusement is still continued in the distant parts of the country.

Among the Foolahs there is a set of people called singing-men, who, like the ancient bards of Britain, travel about the country, singing the praises of those who choose to purchase praise, or venting their satire upon those who have offended them. In the towns of the Bulloms there is frequently a professor of this art, who is called the master, and

who composes songs for the inhabitants, on occasion of any remarkable event that may have happened in the country.

An opinion prevails among the Foolahs respecting twins, similar to that which prevails in England with regard to seventh sons ; they are supposed to be born with a capacity for the practice of physic and surgery, especially for the cure of fractures.

A Foolah asked me the cause of an earthquake which had recently been felt in the country, and, not being satisfied with my explanation, he gave me his own, which, he said, his book had taught him. "The earth," said he, "stands between the horns of a bull, and when the bull is sick, it causes the earth to shake." He added that the tides were occasioned by the breathing of the bull. This theory of the earth differs materially from that of the king of Laby, who asked me what the earth stood upon. I answered, "Nothing." He said he could not believe it: his book had told him that it stood upon a rock ; that the rock stood upon a spirit ; the spirit on the back of a fish ; the fish upon the water ; and the water upon the wind ; and that God Almighty knew what the wind stood upon.

I was witness to the punishment inflicted on an adulterer at Teembo. In the morning the drum beat to summon the people together near the great mosque. The culprit was brought from a house in which he had been confined, and stretched on the ground, with his bare back exposed to the rays of the sun. The book of their law was then taken to the mosque with much ceremony, and publicly read : after which a head-man approached the prisoner, and, ordering him to be held fast, gave him



sixty lashes with a small whip. Another head-man gave him sixty more, and when these were ended the offender cried, "El Hamd û lillah!" —praise be to God. His hair was then cut off close to his head. While this was performing, he exclaimed, "Allah û Kabeer!" — God is great; and when it was finished, he carefully picked up his hair, and returned home.

Theft is punished in Foota by the amputation of a hand or a leg; and the Foolahs seem impartial in the execution of their laws; for one of the king's brothers had had his right hand cut off for being a great thief.

Some years ago, the Foolahs and Mandingoes united their forces against Sambo, king of Bam-bouk, and attempted, as they term it, *to break* Ferbanna, his capital. The siege was carried on with uncommon vigour, and the allies even attempted to undermine the walls; but the besieged behaved with such intrepidity that the assailants were obliged to withdraw. They remained inactive, at a small distance from the town, owing to the want of powder, and the gallant Sambo sent them a supply, desiring them to use it against himself. They shortly after were destitute of provisions, and the humane Sambo sent them food. They then broke up their camp, and returned to their respective countries.

The Foolahs, and other nations to the eastward of them, manufacture beautiful leather, coloured red, black, and yellow. They inlay the handles of their swords, and chase the blades with great neatness. They make a variety of elegant ornaments of gold and silver for their women; they form, from a single tree, canoes capable of carry-

ing eight or ten tons; they weave mats in a variety of patterns, stained with beautiful and indelible colours, and make the narrow cotton cloths of other countries.

When the Foolahs come down to the sea-side, to trade with Europeans, they are under the controul of a head-man, who regulates their march, settles all disputes in the path, and has the disposal of their goods. When they reach the end of their journey, they erect small huts, composed of boughs of trees, to shelter them from the sun. The head-man expects to be accommodated by the factor; though it matters not how small his room, if it have a door, or a mat to let down instead of one. Before the parties enter upon business, the factor gives the head-man his present, which consists of kola, Malaguetta pepper, tobacco, rice, and palm oil. The two first of these articles are the most essential; and, without them, the others, however large the quantity, would scarcely be worth accepting. If the parties do not agree, the present is returned; but if the Foolahs eat the kola, it is a sign that they do not intend to go away. The head-man makes a speech, which is always very long, setting forth the great distance he has travelled, and the great difficulties he has had to encounter. The intercourse is carried on through the medium of interpreters; the head-man's speech being translated by his own interpreter, and the factor's by his; though both very often understand them as well as their agents.

The trade for rice is soon settled, as an equal measure of salt is usually given for it; but every tooth of ivory demands a separate palaver, in which every formality of the first is repeated; and as the

Foolahs have no idea of the value of time, they will sit a whole day, with inexhaustible patience, to gain an additional trifle in the price of their merchandize. At going away they expect another present, which is more or less considerable, according to the quantity of goods they brought. If they be pleased with this present, they sound the factor's praise, as they go, and tell every party they meet how well they have been treated.

It is astonishing to see the loads these people carry to so great a distance. The salt is packed in round masses of about fifty pounds weight each: the goods in a kind of basket about seven feet long, and a foot and a half, or two feet wide, which, when filled, weighs from a hundred and fifty to two hundred pounds. This is placed between the shoulders, so as to project about four feet above the head; a bow is fixed to one of the upper corners, and a string to the other, and the man holds both in one hand: in the other, he carries a forked stick, on which the load is placed when he wants to rest. The Foolahs bring to the coast slaves, elephants' teeth, rice, soap, and cattle; and take back salt, kola, guns, gunpowder, cloth, tobacco, beads, &c.

On leaving Teembo I returned by a different, and rather more dangerous path than that by which I had approached the capital of the Foolahs; I was, however, escorted by a large body of these people, sometimes amounting to five or six hundred, sent at the command of the king. When we arrived at the frontiers of the Soosoo country, which it was necessary to cross, in order to reach the coast by this path, a suspicion arose on the part of the Soosoos that the Foolahs were come to

make war upon them, under the pretence of conducting a white man on his journey. On the Foolahs exhibiting some goods and slaves, as a proof that trade, not war, was their purpose, it was determined at an assembly of the Soosoo chiefs, held in a neighbouring town, that the party should not only be permitted to pass, but that the path should be open to succeeding travellers.

The Soosoo country extends on the south to the river Kissey, which is to the north of the Rio Pongas, and on the north it extends nearly to the Rio Nunez. Several of the towns we passed through contained from one to three thousand inhabitants, and all were surrounded with bamboo fences, or brick walls, like those of Foota.

I shall mention such particulars respecting these people as I was able to collect in my passage through their country.

When a child is born among the Soosoos, they imagine that its body is animated by the soul of some person lately deceased; and to discover whose it may be, they place a cylindrical piece of iron against a wall, asking if it be such an one who has returned. If the iron stand, the question is answered in the affirmative; if it fall, in the negative, and another trial is made.

I shall here observe that the word gree-gree, like fetish, has been introduced by the Europeans, and adopted by the negroes. The Timmanec word for these charms is massebbay, the Bullom 'nsebbay, the Soosoo sebbay.

When a Soosoo addresses a person older than himself, and to whom he wishes to shew some respect, he styles him "old man;" if a greater de-

gree of respect, he calls him "old father;" and the most honourable appellation is old "grandfather." A boy, speaking to a woman about thirty years of age, called her "Gaa fooree Bondee," — old mother Bondee; to which she indignantly replied, that, being older than his mother, she thought herself intitled to be called "Mama fooree Bondee," — old grandmother Bondee. In Great Britain or France either appellation would be an affront.

The Soosoos frequently bury their dead in the street, close to the house of the deceased, and inclose the grave with four pieces of wood, secured by stakes. I saw the grave of a woman in the centre of her husband's inclosure; at the head of the grave were placed the horns of an ox that had been killed for the funeral feast, and the hair of the woman's eldest daughter, a girl of twelve years of age, that had been cut off to give place to the mourning cap. In general only one person in a family, and that one the nearest in age to the deceased, wears mourning for any length of time; though some of the others may wear it a few days.

The Soosoos have an establishment called Semo, which is similar to the purra of Sherbro.

On our journey from Teembo the thermometer in the shade was often at 100°, more than once at 102°, and once at 103°. It has been remarked that the fondness for highly seasoned dishes increases with the heat of the climate; it has been observed, by that great traveller Bruce, that God gave man pepper to counteract the tendency to putridity which heat produces; and it may be added, that he has scattered salt in the desert for the same purpose.

After leaving the Soosoo country, we passed through a colony of Mandingoes, which lies between that and the country of the Bulloms ; and from thence, crossing the river of Sierra Leone, we arrived at Freetown. The Foolahs who had accompanied me passed a few days there, and returned full of admiration of what they had seen, and highly gratified by their visit. I afterwards understood that, when they reached the confines of Foota, they were met by a number of their countrymen, who were so much interested by the recital of what they had seen and heard in this British settlement, that the conversation lasted through the night.

I now prepared to quit Sierra Leone for the second and last time, and sail to the mouth of the Gambia ; but, as this river led the way to one of my most arduous undertakings, I shall reserve it for a succeeding volume ; in which the Gambia and the Niger, the Senegal and the Desert, the Empire of Marocco, and the States of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, will complete the TOUR OF AFRICA.

## AUTHORITIES.

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Howakil and Amphila Bays, the Journey to Tigre over the Salt Plain, Chelicut, and the Eastern coast of Africa as far as the Bay of De l'Agoa, are taken from Salt.

The Bay of De l'Agoa is taken from Captain White.

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Sherbro is taken from Winterbottom's Account of the Native Africans; Account of Sierra Leone; and Kizell, a native, in the Reports of the African Institution.

Sierra Leone is taken from Golberry, and Winterbottom.

Teembo and the Foolahs are taken from the Account of Sierra Leone, and from Winterbottom's Account of the Native Africans.

The Soosoos are taken from Winterbottom.

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END OF VOLUME II.







